

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



AA0002346922





THE LIBRARY
OF
SANTA BARBARA
COLLEGE OF
THE UNIVERSITY
OF CALIFORNIA

PRESENTED BY

DR. AND MRS. H. O. KOEFOD





Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation



THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE

ACCESSION OF GEORGE III.,

1760,

TO

THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN VICTORIA,

1837.

BY THE REV. T. S. HUGHES, B.D.,

LATE CANON OF PETERBOROUGH.

BEING THE COMPLETION OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND FROM
THE INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR TO THE PRESENT REIGN.

A NEW EDITION,

WITH A MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR, COPIOUS NOTES, CORRECTIONS,
IMPROVEMENTS, AND ENLARGEMENT.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A PRELIMINARY ESSAY.

IN SEVEN VOLUMES.

VOL. VI.

LONDON:
GEORGE BELL, 186, FLEET STREET.

1855.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY RAYNER AND HODGKINS,
109, Fetter Lane, Fleet Street.

DA
505
718
1855
v. 6

CONTENTS

OF

THE SIXTH VOLUME.

CHAPTER LIII.

GEORGE III.—1812.

Meeting of parliament, &c.—Report of the king's health—Augmentation of the civil list, &c.—State of the cabinet and public opinion—The regent's letter to the duke of York—Continuation of Mr. Perceval's ministry—Accession of lord Castlereagh to it—House of Hertford—Lord Boringdon's motion for an address to the regent on the new ministry, &c.—Attack in both houses on secret influence behind the throne; advocacy of the catholic claims, &c.—Mr. Canning's motion in favor of them carried by a large majority—Law regarding the frame-makers, &c.—Tragical fate of Mr. Perceval—Provision made for his family—Various intrigues in the formation of a cabinet—Lord Liverpool appointed premier—Opinions regarding the whig leaders—Their long exclusion from office—Character of lord Liverpool—Accession of lords Harrowby and Sidmouth, and Mr. Vansittart to the cabinet—The budget—Various bills introduced into parliament—Population returns, &c.—Revocation of our orders in council; but too late to prevent war with America—Success of the British arms in Canada—Losses by sea—Attempts at reconciliation unsuccessful—Mission and death of Mr. Joel Barlow—

Napoleon's Russian expedition—Affairs of Spain—Sentiments of the regency, Cortes, and public—New Spanish regency appointed—State of the Portuguese government, &c.—Position of the British troops—Lord Wellington's advance against Ciudad Rodrigo, and capture of the place—Lord Wellington's preparations against Badajos—Vexatious conduct of the Portuguese government—Various military movements, and investment of Badajos—Siege and capture, &c.—Subsequent operations—Battle of Salamanca—Pursuit of the French, and entrance of the British army into Madrid—Siege of Burgos—Lord Wellington's retreat to Portugal—King Joseph's return to Madrid—Opinions respecting lord Wellington at home, &c.—Dissolution of parliament, and general election—Mr. Canning returned for Liverpool—His expression of opinions—Meeting of parliament—Speech and addresses, &c.—Gloomy predictions of the opposition—Bullion question—Grant of £200,000 to the suffering Russians, and £100,000 to lord Wellington—Adjournment of parliament—Domestic events—Meeting of parliament—Bill for the appointment of a vice-chancellor—Debates on the war with America—Motion respecting the princess Charlotte—Affairs of the prince and princess of Wales—Renewal of the East India company's charter—Chancellor of the exchequer's financial scheme, alteration made in the sinking fund, &c.—Mr. Whitbread's remarks on the change of dress among our soldiers, &c.—Catholic question, &c.—Curates' bill introduced by lord Harrowby—Relief extended to unitarian dissenters—Debates on the treaty with Sweden page 1

CHAPTER LIV.

Defection of allies from Napoleon—His spirit and resources under this reverse of fortune—His departure from St. Cloud—Line occupied by the belligerents—Battles of Lutzen and Bautzen—Armistice and mediation of Austria—It fails, and Austria joins the allies—Influence of England—Napoleon's position at Dresden—Schwarzenburg attacks the city, and fails—Napoleon's reverses commence—His retreat to Leipsic—Is defeated there, and flies to the Rhine—Dissolution of the Rhenish confederation, &c.—Other states declare themselves free—Declaration of the allies at Frankfort—Rejected by Bonaparte—State of the armies in Spain—Efforts of the guerillas, &c.—Plan of the French campaign—The Douro taken as their base of operations—Joseph leaves Madrid—Affairs on the eastern coast of Spain; siege of Tarragona, &c.—Lord Wellington's advance—Surprise of Villatte's corps at Salamanca—The French army—Attack of its rear-guard at Morales—French retire behind the Carrion—Fall

back on Burgos, and finally on Vittoria—Great battle, and defeat of the French, &c.—Joseph flies to Pampeluna, and thence to the Pyrenees—Pampeluna and St. Sebastian invested—Soul sent to take the chief command in Spain—Advances to attack the position of the allies, and is repulsed, and passes the Bidassoa—Suchet's movements—Siege and capture of St. Sebastian—Affairs in Catalonia—Ingratitude of the Spanish government—Campaign in the Pyrenees, from the passage of the Bidassoa to the retreat of the French to Bayonne—American campaign—Naval contest between the Shannon and the Chesapeake
page 74

CHAPTER LV.

Meeting of parliament, &c.—Bill for allowing the militia to volunteer into the line—Loan, and subsidies to foreign powers, &c.—Foreign policy of ministers fully supported—Adjournment to March—Peace with Denmark—Defection of Murat—Allies prepare to cross the Rhine—Napoleon quits Paris—His contest with the allies till the latter approach the capital—Operations of sir Thomas Graham in the Netherlands—And of lord Wellington, to the retreat of Soult behind his intrenchments at Toulouse—Affairs at Paris to the abdication of Napoleon, &c.—Battle of Toulouse, and subsequent events in the south of France—Return of Ferdinand VII., and other sovereigns, to their countries—Lord William Bentinck's expedition to Genoa, &c.—Departure of Louis XVIII. from England, and his arrival in Paris—Treaty with the allies—Meeting of the British parliament; honors to lord Wellington, &c.—Visit of the allied sovereigns to England—Affairs relating to the princess of Wales and her daughter, &c.—State of Ireland—Meeting of parliament—Treaty with Holland—Congress of Vienna, &c.—Domestic circumstances—British parliament—American war; and peace concluded with the United States 122

CHAPTER LVI.

Arrangements made by the congress of Vienna—Views respecting them, &c.—Napoleon escapes from Elba, and lands in France—His advance to Paris, &c.—Retreat of Louis XVIII. to Ghent—Acts of the congress—Conduct of Bonaparte—Ill-judged and unsuccessful movement of Murat—Sensation created in England by Napoleon's return, at a period of tumult and rioting on account of the corn laws—Acts of the British parliament—Its

prorogation in July—Duke of Wellington assumes the command of the armies in the Netherlands—Operations of the allies and of the French to the time when Napoleon crossed the frontier—Battles of Ligny, Quatre-Bras, and Waterloo—Pursuit of the French army by the Prussians, &c.—Advance of the allies into France, to the capitulation of St. Cloud—Napoleon's abdication—Re-instatement of Louis XVIII. on his throne—Works of art in the Louvre reclaimed by the allies—Second treaty of Paris—Projects, &c. of the Holy Alliance—French ministry—Cases of Labedoyère, Ney, and Lavallette—Soult and Murat—Ultimate destiny of Napoleon—Rewards given by the British nation to the heroes of Waterloo page 185

CHAPTER LVII.

Affairs of India—Lord Cornwallis's second administration—Government of sir George Barlow—Administration of lord Minto—Government of the marquis of Hastings—Consummation of the British power in India; efforts made for the amelioration of its people, &c.—Statistical account of Great Britain during the latter period of the war, &c.—Difficulties encountered in the transition from a state of war to peace, &c. 260

CHAPTER LVIII.

Meeting of parliament—Debates on the treaties—State of Ireland—Royal marriages—Stagnation of trade, and high price of provisions—Seditious assemblies in the metropolis—Expedition to Algiers—Attack and surrender of that city—Honors conferred on lord Exmouth—Discovery of the safety-lamp by sir Humphrey Davy—Encouragement of the fine arts—Meeting of parliament—Attack made on the prince regent—Measures of economy—Retirement of Mr. Abbott from the office of speaker—Reports of secret committees on the prevalence of sedition—Apprehension of suspected individuals—Suspension of the habeas corpus act—Farther restrictions on public liberty—Committee on the poor-laws—Disturbances at Manchester—Trials for high-treason—Prosecution of Mr. Hone for the publication of political parodies on the Litany—State of political parties at this period—Death of the princess Charlotte—New coinage—Opening of Waterloo-bridge—Domestic events—Brief review of foreign governments 308

CHAPTER LIX.

Opening of parliament—Speech of the commissioners, &c.—Lord Castlereagh's motion for secret committees preparatory to a bill of indemnity—Strenuously opposed, but carried—Reports of the same—Indemnity bill carried—Grant of one million for the building of churches—Bank restriction extended to July 5, 1819—Negotiation with Spain to discontinue the slave trade north of the line—Royal marriages, &c.—Supplies—Alien act—Sir Samuel Romilly's attempt to repeal part of the act against privately stealing in shops, &c.—Motion for a committee by Mr. Brougham to inquire into the education of the poor—Dissolution of parliament—State of the manufacturers of Lancashire—General election—Deaths of sir Samuel Romilly, lord Ellenborough, and queen Charlotte—Ecclesiastical and judicial returns—Increase of forgeries—Price of consols—Bankruptcies—Wager of battle—Determination to pull down Carlton-house, &c.—Congress of Aix la Chapelle, evacuation of France by the allied forces, &c.—Meeting of new parliament—Duke of York appointed guardian to his majesty—Committee on the criminal code—Measures taken for the resumption of cash payments—Financial statements—Catholic claims—Foreign enlistment act—Reversal of a bill of attainder against lord Edward Fitzgerald—Slave trade—Emigration—Close of the session—General distress consequent on the alteration of currency—Seditious assemblages—Meeting at Manchester: its dispersion by the yeomanry cavalry attended with loss of life—Trial, sentence, and imprisonment of Hunt and his accomplices—Popular discontents—Meeting of parliament—Evidence on the disaffected state of the manufacturing districts—Restrictions on public liberty—Parliamentary reform—Cession of Parga to the Turks—Continental politics—South American provinces—Public improvements.

page 350

CHAPTER LX.

Death of the duke of Kent, and of George III.—Accession of George IV.—Declaration, &c.—His alarming illness—Message respecting the dissolution of parliament, &c.—Mr. Hume's embarrassing question respecting the queen—The chancellor's speech—Thistlewood's conspiracy—Trial and execution of the

conspirators—Popular discontent—Meetings at Huddersfield, Glasgow, &c.—Elections—Meeting of parliament, &c.—Motion respecting the borough of Grampound—Bills for amending our criminal code—Failure of Mr. Brougham's education bill—Motion for a committee on the corn laws carried—Motion for a committee respecting free trade—Civil list and financial statement—Affairs of the queen—Her arrival in England—Proceedings against her in parliament, &c.—Her loss of popularity—Death of the duchess of York—Return of captain Parry from the north seas—Revolutions, &c. in foreign states . page 402

CHAPTER LXI.

Meeting of parliament—Contest between the queen's friends and ministers—Queen's annuity bill—End of the contest—Extinction of the queen's popularity—Feeling in England against the principles of the holy alliance—Committee voted on the catholic claims, &c.—Motions for parliamentary reform—Disfranchisement of Grampound—Report of the agricultural committee, &c.—Measures to alter the navigation laws, and in favor of free trade—Mr. Hume—Supplies, &c.—Prorogation of parliament—Death of Napoleon—Preparations for the coronation, &c.—Claim preferred by the queen, and rejected—Her attempts to be present at the coronation repulsed—Ceremony of the coronation, &c.—Death of the queen—King's visit to Ireland—Queen's funeral—King's return—State of Irish government and of the country—Recall of the lord lieutenant—King's visit to Hanover—Foundation of the Royal Society of Literature—State of Europe, particularly of Greece—Opening of parliament in 1822—Lord Wellesley governor of Ireland; state of the country, enactments of the legislature, &c.—Ravages of famine and disease in Ireland, &c.—Conduct of various classes—Agricultural distress in England—Admission of the Grenville party into the cabinet—Mr. Peel made secretary of state—Mr. Canning designated as governor-general of India—His motion to restore Roman catholic peers to their seats in parliament—Agricultural distress, and appointment of a committee—Bills founded on its report—Financial bills—State of parties—Acts for the reduction of expenditure forced on ministers, &c.—Mr. Western's motion on the currency—Relaxation of Peel's bill—Statistical affairs—Reduction in the salt-tax and in that on malt, &c.—Relaxation in the navigation and trade laws—Lord J. Russell's plan for parliamentary reform—Greek cause introduced into the house of commons—Favored by the people—Prorogation of parliament

—The king's visit to Scotland—Death of lord Londonderry, &c.
—Prevalence of bad principles—Trials of Carlile, &c. for blasphemous publications—Appointment of Mr. Canning as secretary of state—Congress of Verona, &c.—Greek cause—Affairs of Spain—Liberal views of Mr. Canning—Changes in the cabinet—Caledonian canal—Grant to publish the early histories of Britain page 451



THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER LIII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1812.

Meeting of parliament, &c.—Report of the king's health—Augmentation of the civil list, &c.—State of the cabinet and public opinion—The regent's letter to the duke of York—Continuation of Mr. Perceval's ministry—Accession of lord Castlereagh to it—House of Hertford—Lord Boringdon's motion for an address to the regent on the new ministry, &c.—Attack in both houses on secret influence behind the throne; advocacy of the catholic claims, &c.—Mr. Canning's motion in favor of them carried by a large majority—Law regarding the frame-makers, &c.—Tragical fate of Mr. Perceval—Provision made for his family—Various intrigues in the formation of a cabinet—Lord Liverpool appointed premier—Opinions regarding the whig leaders—Their long exclusion from office—Character of lord Liverpool—Accession of lords Harrowby and Sidmouth, and Mr. Vansittart to the cabinet—The budget—Various bills introduced into parliament—Population returns, &c.—Revocation of our orders in council; but too late to prevent war with America—Success of the British arms in Canada—Losses by sea—Attempts at reconciliation unsuccessful—Mission and death of Mr. Joel Barlow—Napoleon's Russian expedition—Affairs of Spain—Sentiments of the regency, Cortes, and public—New Spanish regency appointed—State of the Portuguese government, &c.—Position of the British troops—Lord Wellington's advance against Ciudad Rodrigo, and capture of the place—Lord Wellington's preparations against Badajos—Vexatious conduct of the Portuguese government—Various military movements, and investment of Badajos—Siege and capture, &c.—Subsequent operations—Battle of Salamanca—Pursuit of the French, and entrance of the British army into Madrid—Siege of Burgos—Lord Wellington's retreat to Portugal—King Joseph's return to Madrid—Opinions

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

respecting lord Wellington at home, &c.—Dissolution of parliament, and general election—Mr. Canning returned for Liverpool—His expression of opinions—Meeting of parliament—Speech and addresses, &c.—Gloomy predictions of the opposition—Bullion question—Grant of £200,000 to the suffering Russians, and £100,000 to lord Wellington—Adjournment of parliament—Domestic events—Meeting of parliament—Bill for the appointment of a vice-chancellor—Debates on the war with America—Motion respecting the princess Charlotte—Affairs of the prince and princess of Wales—Renewal of the East India company's charter—Chancellor of the exchequer's financial scheme, alteration made in the sinking fund, &c.—Mr. Whitbread's remarks on the change of dress among our soldiers, &c.—Catholic question, &c.—Curates' bill introduced by lord Harrowby—Relief extended to unitarian dissenters—Debates on the treaty with Sweden.

Meeting of
parliament.

WHEN the British parliament re-assembled, the state of the peninsular contest formed a prominent feature of the regent's speech: its general sentiments were echoed back by the lords, in an address moved by the earl of Shaftesbury, and seconded by lord Brownlow; lords Grenville and Grey not carrying their opposition so far as to divide the house: but in the commons, sir Francis Burdett, breaking through the usual routine, and anticipating lord Jocelyn, who was slowly rising to move an address, proposed in its stead a strong remonstrance to the regent, containing an elaborate statement of public grievances; among which the constitution of that house itself was not the least. The noble mover of the ministerial address, having recovered from his surprise, proposed it as an amendment to that of sir Francis, who divided the house, but had only one supporter.

Before the meeting of parliament, the queen's council reported that his majesty's health was generally good, though they threw a doubt on the probability of his being able to resume the regal functions: when the medical attendants were interrogated on the subject by a committee of each house, they were unwilling to declare that they had no hope of his recovery, though they did not seem absolutely to despair of it; but the general conclusion was, that the case was desperate; and the various hopes, fears, and specu-

lations of public men were directed to the presumable conduct of the regent, when his restrictions should cease. Bills were brought forward, containing new regulations for the household; the chancellor of the exchequer proposing that an addition of £70,000 should be made to the civil list from the consolidated fund; that the care of his majesty's establishment, the expense of which was estimated at the annual sum of £100,000, should be placed under control of the queen, whose income should be increased by £10,000; while a commission was appointed to manage the king's private property, and a grant of £100,000 was made for the regent to meet the expenses consequent on his assumption of authority: nor were the female branches of the royal family forgotten on this interesting occasion; a large addition being soon afterwards made to the income of the princesses. In the present state of the nation, when a cry of internal distress was heard throughout the land, and a foreign war pressed so heavily on the national resources that our army sometimes could not move, owing to an empty chest, Messrs. Tierney and Ponsonby pronounced these new demands exorbitant, and recommended an accurate investigation as a preliminary step: ministers however were too insecure in their seats to tighten the strings of the public purse; and as parliament was then constituted, its courtly zeal was never doubted for an instant.

The cabinet at this time was not only weak, but distracted: that able diplomatist lord Wellesley, holding the qualifications of Mr. Perceval in the same degree of estimation as Mr. Canning expressed for those of lord Castlereagh, had already tendered his resignation, though he retained the seals of office provisionally, at the express desire of the regent. The known partiality of the prince for lord Wellesley, added to other old predilections, tended to confirm an opinion which prevailed, that one of the first acts of his unrestricted power would be the dismissal of Mr. Perceval's administration; nor did the high and confident tone assumed by that gentleman undeceive

CHAP.
LIII.

1812.

the house, until he startled his opponents, on the evening of the thirteenth of February, by the following triumphant insinuation:--‘I do not know what may be the golden dreams of honorable gentlemen respecting the continuance of the present ministry; but they may find the opening prospect not quite so consolatory as they imagine.’ He spoke thus in the full confidence of security; for on this very day the prince had transmitted his celebrated letter to the duke of York; and it required but little sagacity to foresee, that any communication made to Mr. Perceval’s opponents by that honest and uncompromising adversary of the catholic claims, would effectually prevent them from entering the cabinet. Adverting, in this document, to his approaching emancipation from a restricted regency, the prince re-stated the motives of filial duty and affection, which, he said, induced him to retain his father’s ministers; and after an ominous declaration, that he had ‘no predilections to indulge, no resentments to gratify, no objects to gain but such as were common to the whole empire,’ concluded with a wish that some of those persons, with whom the early habits of his public life were formed, would strengthen his hands, by constituting a part of his government. The duke of York having made the desired communication to lords Grey and Grenville, those noblemen addressed a reply to his royal highness, in which they expressed, on public grounds alone, the impossibility of their union with the existing cabinet; since their differences of opinion embraced almost all the leading features of its policy: on one subject their sentiments were intirely at variance; they were so convinced of the necessity of a change in the system of governing Ireland, and of an immediate repeal of those civil disabilities under which the majority of its people labored, that to recommend such a measure to parliament would be the first advice which duty would engage them to offer to his royal highness. At the same time considerations similar to these, which actuated the two leaders of opposition, operated on a portion of the existing cabinet; and more especially on lord Eldon,

who addressed a letter on the subject to Mr. Perceval, which, as the editor of his life observes, 'eminently deserves the attention of all speculators in coalitions between parties of opposite principles.' In this communication the chancellor expressed his determination against even a meeting for consultation with men whose principles of government he, a zealous supporter of our constitution and its monarchy, had combated during the thirty years of his parliamentary life; and whose opinions respecting catholic emancipation, American and Spanish affairs, as well as bullion, were utterly irreconcilable with his own.

All hopes of forming an extended administration being at an end, the present ministers were retained; and in consequence of the marquis Wellesley's secession, lord Castlereagh was taken into the cabinet. This nobleman was considered as re-appearing on the political arena under the auspices of the house of Hertford,—a family now possessed of that secret influence behind the throne, which we find so often complained of as interfering with the machinery of government: its acquisition in the present instance was referred to the charms of an accomplished female, acting on an indolent and enervated mind.

As there was still a party in parliament who thought the present crisis required statesmen of great abilities, lord Boringdon, on the nineteenth of March, moved that the regent should be requested to form an efficient administration: the debate on this occasion was violent; and a distinguishing feature in it was the conflict of parties on the subject of catholic emancipation. Earl Grey stated the points which had deterred lord Grenville and himself from entering into the present cabinet: 'it was formed' he said, 'on the express principle of resistance to the catholic claims; a principle, loudly proclaimed by the person at its head, from the moment he quitted the bar to take a share in political life; and where he led, the rest were obliged to follow.' With respect to American claims, his lordship wished to bear in mind the maxim so well expressed by Burke; 'that as we ought not to go to

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

war for a profitable wrong, so neither ought we for an unprofitable right:’ on the question of making bank-notes a legal tender, an impassable line existed between him and the present ministry; and with respect to the peninsular war, it was his wish that we should not proceed on the present expensive scale, without appealing to some high military authority regarding its probable result: he also complained of a disastrous and disgusting influence behind the throne; which it was the duty of parliament to brand with signal reprobation: this influence, denied by lord Mulgrave, was denounced with impressive vehemence by lord Darnley; who declared that ministers owed their places to unauthorised advisers, of whom the house and the constitution knew nothing; and whose selfish, bigoted whispers in the royal ear endangered the safety of the state. Mr. Lyttleton, in a debate on sinecure places in the other house, declared that the regent was surrounded by ‘minions and favorites;’ and intimated that the rewards, which should have been conferred on the gallant defenders of our country, were lavished on ‘Gavestons and Spencers!’ The most violent attack on his royal highness and his ministry, was made by lord Donoughmore, when he moved for a committee on the Roman catholic claims; but the virulence of this animated and powerful speaker was too much tainted with the venom of private pique: sitting as a representative of Ireland, he had solicited the honor of the English peerage; and the refusal of this request excited him to take revenge by one of the most remarkable efforts of elaborate and personal vituperation ever heard in parliament. His lordship’s motion was cordially seconded by the duke of Sussex, who deprecated a system of exclusion, which, without regard to justice or expediency, had been so long enforced by an intolerant legislature; and lord Wellesley, while he admitted that it was the primary duty of every state to maintain the national religion, contended that the members of our ecclesiastical establishment were bound, as men and patriots, to stretch out the hand of benevolence to their fellow subjects of

every description. On the other side, lord Liverpool argued, that every government had a right to exclude from power those who were objects of its suspicion, and amenable to foreign authority: the house concurred with him in rejecting the motion; and a similar one, urged by Mr. Grattan in the commons, whom he interested and electrified by his spirited effusions, met with the same fate. The advocates however of the complaining party were not discouraged: at a later period, Mr. Canning made a powerful speech in their favor, and carried a motion by a large majority, pledging the house to consider, early next session, the state of laws affecting the Roman catholics of Great Britain and Ireland; but when the marquis Wellesley made a similar proposal in the house of peers, it was powerfully opposed by lords Eldon, Ellenborough, and Sidmouth, and rejected.

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

Another subject also strongly interested the feelings of parliament, as well as the public. The continuance of outrages in several of the manufacturing counties provoked the enactment of a severe law, which made the breaking of frames, and administering of illegal oaths, a capital felony, and compelled the parties in whose houses frames should be broken, to furnish information to the magistrates. It was against the second reading of this bill on the twenty-seventh of February that lord Byron made his first address to the house of lords, in a strain of sarcasm more fitted to a popular meeting, than to that dignified assembly. The measure was ably defended by the lord chancellor, who explained the error of the notion that the laboring classes were injured by the introduction of machinery: the bill was strongly opposed in the lower house by sir Samuel Romilly, Mr. Whitbread, and sir Francis Burdett. As murder had in several instances been added to other crimes by the rioters, a special commission, as well as a military force, was sent into the disturbed districts; and many criminals, being convicted, were condemned to the extreme punishment of the law; though the greater part obtained a remission of their sentence.

CHAP.
LIII.

1812.

Assassina-
tion of Mr.
Perceval.

These commotions being generally attributed to the operation of our orders in council, diminishing the demand for articles of British manufacture, numerous petitions were presented to both houses for a revocation of those edicts; and, in compliance with the general wish, a formal inquiry was instituted; but while it was depending, and while the power of ministers appeared more firmly fixed than ever, in the total estrangement¹ from his early friends manifested by the regent, their leader was suddenly cut off, by a fate of the most tragical and melancholy kind. On the eleventh of May, Mr. Perceval was shot through the heart, as he was entering the lobby of the house of commons; when, after uttering a slight exclamation, he staggered a few paces, and in a short time expired: the assassin, whose name was Bellingham, making no attempt to escape, was immediately examined at the bar of the house; where apprehensions at first prevailed, that his atrocious act might be the commencement of an extensive conspiracy; it soon however appeared, that he was actuated solely by revenge, on account of a supposed injury: having, in a commercial visit to Russia, undergone what he considered an unjust imprisonment for debt, the refusal of our government to take cognisance of the transaction, for the purpose of redress, made so deep an impression on his mind, that he resolved to take the life of one of its most prominent members. On his trial, he displayed great self-possession; and when it was attempted to excuse the action, under the plea of insanity, he rejected the application of it to himself; though his perseverance in asserting a right to avenge his private wrongs, showed that his moral perceptions on that point had been disturbed by long brooding over sup-

¹ This was effected by the tone which they took in debate; by their broad insinuations respecting court influence and intrigues, and especially by their intentions of taking up the cause of the princess of Wales: on this subject there is a curious letter addressed to his brother sir W. Scott by the lord chancellor, whose great favor at Carlton-house was now commencing. In this he says, 'the game of the princess of Wales is to be the grand sport for the remainder of this session. Her husband is furious indeed with indignation against the 'early friends:' and it is now, as we used to suppose it heretofore, that is, that he knows every word that is uttered at Blackheath or Kensington.'—Life of Lord Eldon, vol. ii. p. 193.

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

posed injuries. After admitting the fact of assassination, denying that he had felt any malice toward Mr. Perceval, and declaring that he would rather have shot lord Levison Gower, our late ambassador to Russia,—he was found guilty, and underwent the extreme sentence of the law. It is grievous to remark that probably no government exists which generally pays so little regard to the insults, injuries, or violence, received by its subjects, as that of Great Britain.²

The earl of Liverpool in the upper, and lord Castlereagh in the lower house, delivered a message from the regent, recommending a parliamentary provision for the family of the late premier: the former of these noblemen paid an affecting tribute to the memory of his departed friend, ‘than whom he knew no man possessed of more virtues or fewer faults:’ the latter, after an able encomium on Mr. Perceval’s character, laid it down as a principle, that unless there had been some base misconduct on the part of a public servant, it was the duty of the house to extend its protection to any such, and defend him from public or private malignity. His lordship then moved a correspondent address to the regent, which Mr. Ponsonby was anxious to second; and all parties in the house bore willing testimony to the numerous virtues and courteous manners of this lamented victim of man’s wild passions. An annuity of £2000 was settled on his widow; and the sum of £50,000 was ordered to be vested in trust for the benefit and use of his twelve children: subsequently, an annuity of £1000 was granted to the eldest son, to be doubled at the death of his mother; and a monument in Westminster Abbey was erected to Mr. Perceval at the public expense.

In consequence of the vacancy thus occasioned in the cabinet, overtures were made by lord Liverpool to the marquis Wellesley and Mr. Canning; but

Adminis-
tration of
lord Liver-
pool.

² It is needless to multiply instances: the disgraceful affair at Bokkara, when two of our accomplished and devoted envoys were supposed to have been infamously murdered, and the mere investigation of this atrocious act was left to one private noble-minded individual, speaks volumes on the subject.

CHAP.
LIII.

1812.

they declined to associate themselves with a ministry, whose avowed sentiments on the catholic question were declared to be unchanged; and who were unwilling to prosecute the peninsular war with that vigor which the others required: their refusal was probably neither unexpected, nor unacceptable to the regent and the Hertford party, who thought that by this demonstration they had done enough to satisfy public opinion: parliament however was not so easily duped; for a motion was made and carried in the commons by Mr. Stuart Wortley, for an address to his royal highness, praying that he would take measures calculated to form a strong and efficient government: in consequence, the marquis Wellesley received instructions to that effect: and he, through Mr. Canning, inquired of lord Liverpool, whether the existing ministers, or any of them, would entertain the proposal of an arrangement with him: when this was declined by the whole cabinet irritated against the marquis, who had publicly stigmatised the incapacity of its late leader, he opened a negotiation with lords Grey and Grenville; and a personal conference ended in his being referred back by them for more direct and extensive powers. During a whole week they received no farther communication on the subject; but that time was employed by the household troops, in attempting to effect a reconciliation between the Liverpool and Wellesley parties; for it was well known that the whig lords insisted on making a change in all the great officers of the royal establishment; deeming this measure indispensable for giving to a new government that character of stability, and those marks of constitutional support from the crown, which were requisite for its efficiency in the public service: their endeavors, however, failed; and on the first of June lord Wellesley returned with a specific proposition, or offer of a section of the ministry, under what Mr. Elliot termed 'a partition treaty:' but lords Grey and Grenville, after consultation with their political friends, declined this proposal, as calculated to establish a

system of counter-action in the cabinet, which by compromising their characters, would produce disunion and weakness in the government.

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

Lord Wellesley's mission being thus terminated, earl Moira was next commissioned to negotiate with the refractory whigs; and a conference was fixed for the sixth of June; but his lordship had, in conversation with earl Spencer, previously declared a determination, not to admit any new arrangement of the household to be taken into consideration: lord Spencer indeed objected to this resolution as unprecedented and unconstitutional; and when he prepared lords Grey and Grenville for the objection, he expressed his opinion, coinciding with their own, that the household should be made a preliminary question.³ Lord Moira justified his tenacity in the retention of the state officers, by a fear lest the submitting them to consideration 'should countenance every ribald tale of scandal which had been circulated abroad;' not seeing that the course pursued would have precisely the effect which he professed himself anxious to avoid. It is justly observed by the author alluded to below, that there is something incomprehensible in the system which his lordship adopted. 'Is your royal highness prepared,' he said to the prince, 'if I should advise it, to part with the officers of your household?' The answer was, 'I am.' 'Then,' rejoined lord Moira, 'your royal highness shall not part with one of them;' ⁴ and having thus heroically or theatrically taken the responsibility upon himself, he proceeded on his inauspicious mission: this of course failed; and by his lordship's advice, the Perceval ministry was revived; the earl of Liverpool being appointed first lord of the treasury. It may be rash, says Mr. Wallace, to decide whether lord Moira was the dupe or the confederate of that secret cabal, whose game he was thus playing: but whatever doubts may be entertained respecting him, Sheridan seems to have been an accomplice, if not a main con-

³ See this subject fully investigated in a clever work, written however with strong party feelings, intitled, *The Life and Reign of George IV.* by W. Wallace, vol. ii. p. 188, &c.

⁴ Mr. Canning's speech, June 11th.

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

triver, behind the curtain; and he had his reward—in neglect and poverty, and a death-bed unexampled for wretchedness and humiliation. The conduct of that miserable intriguer in this affair is considered indefensible even by his partial biographer: ‘lord Yarmouth,’ says Mr. Moore, ‘stated in the house of commons, that he had communicated to Mr. Sheridan the intention of the household to resign, with a view of having that intention conveyed to lords Grey and Grenville; and thus removing the sole ground on which they objected to accept office. Not only, however, did Sheridan endeavor to dissuade the noble vice-chamberlain from resigning; but, with an unfairness of dealing, which admits of no vindication, he withheld from the two leaders of opposition the intelligence thus meant to be conveyed to them; and when questioned by Mr. Tierney, as to the rumored intentions of the household to resign, offered to bet 500 guineas that there was no such step in contemplation.’ Thus an anti-catholic ministry was kept in place by the exertions of a man, who declared in a speech delivered this very session, ‘that his objection to the present ministry was, that they were avowedly arrayed and embodied against a principle,—that of concession to the catholics of Ireland,—which he must ever think essential to the safety of the empire.’ Mr. Moore ascribes this conduct to his personal feelings against the two noble lords, Grey and Grenville; but more especially to his implicit deference to the known wishes and feelings of that personage, who had now become the mainspring of all his movements, and whose spell over him was too strong even for his sense of character; observing, in his own beautiful language;—‘so fatal, too often, are royal friendships; whose attraction, like the loadstone-rock in Eastern fable, which drew the nails out of the luckless ships that came near it, steals gradually away the strength by which character is held together; till at last it loosens at all points, and falls to pieces a wreck!’

A vehement outcry was raised by all parties against the whig leaders; and if there was any remnant of

attachment, on which the regent's favor depended, it now vanished for ever; for their unlucky phrase of 'riding rough-shod through Carlton-house,' was not lost on a mind like his: their own famished subalterns bitterly inveighed against men who kept them from the more substantial fruits of office, through what seemed a childish vanity of making chamberlains and vice-chamberlains: the neutral party blamed them for withholding their services from the country in an hour of danger, on account of what was thought a mere point of form;—but the enmity of the invisible corps could not be increased: after all, however, those who know the intrigues of a court, and the ease with which the venom of party rancor is instilled into the ear of a sovereign, particularly one of an indolent and voluptuous character, will not be disposed to join in the clamor raised against these rejected statesmen. What general would be applauded for strengthening a central position, while he left his flanks open to the assault of his adversaries? Earl Spencer was a man whose opinion never could be despised; and it is sufficient to say, that the conduct adopted by lords Grey and Grenville was recommended by him: the whigs, however, were now destined to a very long exclusion from power; an exclusion, which lasted until those aristocratic party feelings, which rendered them obnoxious to George III. became so far weakened or dissolved, that they could stand forward as decided champions of the people: as soon as it was seen that a selfish system of corruption was endangering our institutions, the popular voice called them back to the helm, that by repairing and renovating those institutions, they might enable Great Britain to maintain that rank, as head of the great European family, to which an ardent love of constitutional liberty so justly intitles her.

Lord Liverpool had now arrived at the height of a subject's ambition; and whatever might be said respecting the conduct or principles of others, his elevation was satisfactory to the nation: there was no spot on his escutcheon, since he had never sought power with feverish anxiety, nor obtained it by unworthy arts:

CHAP.
LIII

1812.

for more than twenty years he had worked his way towards it by distinguished parliamentary exertions; and during the last ten, he had fitted himself for its exercise by an able discharge of various duties: thus to the foundation of a solid and cultivated understanding, he had superadded the stores of great practical experience; while faction itself was unable to cast a slur on his moral or religious character: the strong attachment which he displayed to established institutions, and his opposition to that innovating spirit which began to extend itself through society, was branded by some with the appellation of bigotry; but in lord Liverpool, it was a wise attachment; a conscientious opposition: when he took charge of the helm, the times were too full of danger for great internal changes; and during a long period afterwards, the nation itself was not ripe for them: perhaps no minister in this country can decidedly lead the people; so that the great glory of a statesman must ever consist in keeping pace with the reasonable wishes, and administering to the manifest wants of the community, whilst he moderates the ardor of zeal, and checks every unconstitutional attempt: as the appropriate time for change drew on, lord Liverpool began to relax in his opposition to the principles of innovation; and if the gloom of bigotry and the taint of corrupt selfishness still adhered to his cabinet, others were more in fault than him.

It was an auspicious era when the new minister was called to the direction of government: though the great continent of Europe, from the Tagus to the Beresina, was now bristling with arms, and red with slaughter, defeat in every quarter was humbling the oppressor of Europe, and leading toward a re-organisation of its constituent parts: affairs therefore warranted the adoption of energetic measures; and, to the honor of the regent, he entered heart and soul into the cause, determining zealously to second the efforts of his great commander in the peninsula, and to encourage ministers in drawing forth the almost unlimited resources of his kingdom. In fact the surprising

ability of that commander was now becoming better appreciated, and his advice more regarded. If it was the glory of lord Chatham, by ministerial energy, to have created generals, it was the still greater glory of a British general to infuse life, spirit, and propriety of conduct into a ministerial cabinet, little superior, as regards warlike affairs, to the notorious Aulic council.

Among the first acts of lord Liverpool was that of filling up his administration ; in which, the earl of Harrowby was made president of the council ; Mr. Vansittart, chancellor of the exchequer ; and lord Sidmouth, secretary for the home department : this latter appointment has elicited from a caustic historian, already quoted, the remark ; that ‘ a man who ascends to the first rank, and falls back to the second, is seldom really qualified even for a secondary place.’ Lord Bathurst, from being president of the board of trade, became secretary for war and colonies ; and Mr. Peel was made secretary for Ireland : the leader of government in the house of commons was lord Castlereagh. Thus the cabinet settled down ; and thus it remained till the death of lord Liverpool fifteen years afterwards ; without any material change of policy, except a recognition of the catholic question as an open one ; and without any important addition to its strength, except the return of Canning to office in 1816, the entrance of the duke of Wellington into the cabinet as master-general of the ordnance two years later, and that of sir Robert Peel as home secretary in 1822.

On the seventeenth of June, the new financial minister brought forward his budget, which had been nearly arranged by his predecessor : the charges he stated at £7,025,700 for Ireland, and £55,350,648 for Great Britain ; an enormous, he might say, a terrible amount ! but great as it was, the resources of this country were still equal to it : by an enumeration of ways and means, he produced a result of £55,390,460, including a loan of £15,650,000 : previously, however, a loan had been obtained, to the amount of £6,789,625 ; which, added to the new one,

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

Financial
statements.

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

and to exchequer bills funded this year, created an annual interest of £1,905,924; to provide for which, he proposed to discontinue the bounty on printed goods exported, and to increase the duties on tanned hides, glass, tobacco, sales by auction, postage of letters, and assessed taxes, the aggregate product of which he estimated at £1,903,000: the augmentation of the duty on leather was strongly opposed; but the intire budget received the sanction of the house.

A bill introduced by lord Castlereagh on the tenth of July, to amend or repeal certain intolerant statutes relating to religious worship and dissenting teachers; with another for improving the ecclesiastical courts in England, received the sanction of the legislature: the act for prohibiting the grant of offices in reversion was renewed for two years; and a bill for abolishing sinecure offices, executed by deputy, did away with that of paymaster of widows' pensions: an act also passed, by which the payment of bank notes, in or out of court, was declared legal to the staying of an arrest; and its provisions were extended to Ireland.

Returns under the population act were laid before parliament; whence it appeared, that in Great Britain, the total population in 1801 amounted to 10,472,048 souls, and in 1811 to 11,911,644; showing an increase of 1,439,596 residents; or, with the addition of men serving abroad in the army and navy, of 1,609,498 persons. These results revived the important question of population compared with its means of subsistence: by accounts produced about this time, it appeared, that during eleven years, from 1775 to 1786, the average quantity of grain imported was 564,143 quarters; from 1786 to 1798 it was 1,136,101 quarters; and from 1799 to 1810, including three years of scarcity, 1,471,003: the average prices were, in the first quarter, thirty shillings per quarter; in the second, forty shillings; in the third, sixty shillings; and during the last year, no less a sum than £4,271,000 went out of the country to purchase sustenance for its inhabitants. At this time however it must be remembered, that the tracts of land not brought into

cultivation were immense; and the improvements in husbandry were advanced but a little way toward that perfection, to which they have subsequently attained.

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

Though lord Liverpool had been a strenuous advocate for the orders in council, he was now inclined to consider it better policy to revoke them. The regent had declared, that whenever it should appear, by an authentic act of the French government, that the Berlin and Milan decrees were absolutely and unconditionally repealed, our orders should be no longer enforced: but a doubt arose, whether any act answering to that description had actually appeared; for the American envoy had merely produced the copy of an instrument, purporting to be an edict of the preceding year, which revoked the decrees as far as they concerned vessels of the United States: after some deliberation, however, it was determined that this should be considered an authentic document; and the offensive regulations were suspended, on condition of the repeal of those restrictive acts by which the republicans had marked their resentment: but it unfortunately happened that the person who now directed the councils of the United States, was as inimical to the government of Great Britain as he was devoted to the views and interests of Bonaparte: in the midst, therefore, of a negotiation for the adjustment of differences, and before the revocation of our orders could be officially announced, war was declared by the president; and the world saw with surprise, the inconsistency of a government calling itself free,—a government raised and cemented by the blood of brave and free men,—leaguering itself with the military despotism of France, and plunging the country into the miseries of a war with their transatlantic brethren, to oblige and gratify Napoleon.

War with
America.

The troops of the republic, under general Hull, having begun the campaign with an irruption into Upper Canada, were baffled in their immediate views; but, having passed the river Detroit, and ravaged the neighboring territory, they took up a defensive posi-

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

tion. Sir George Prevost, the governor, had made no preparation to repel invasion; and major-general Brock, who had his station near the menaced frontier, was so ill provided with means of defence, that he could only assemble 330 regulars, 400 militia, and about 600 Indians, for immediate operations: with these forces, however, he resolved to attack the hostile station, and quickly profited by the panic which he produced. Hull felt so much alarm at the defection of savage chiefs, who had given promises of neutrality, that he proposed a negotiation; and, at length, surrendered his whole force, amounting to 2300 men, with 33 pieces of artillery: this inauspicious commencement of the war did not discourage the Americans, whose animosity and resentment stimulated them to persevere in the contest which they had provoked; and on the thirteenth of October, a second army repeating the attempt on Canada, took Queen's town; but disappointment and calamity soon followed this partial success: a small British force marched to chastise the intruders, who, being thrown into confusion by a spirited attack, were compelled to surrender, after a considerable loss in killed and wounded: general Brock fell on the field of honor, as he was gallantly cheering his men; and thus all attempts made by the republicans to annex Canada to their union, failed with disgrace.

The Americans consoled themselves for these disasters by their temporary success at sea; a success, chiefly due to the great superiority of their frigates in size, weight of metal, and number of men: vessels which they rated as sloops of war were equal to frigates, and their frigates to ships of the line; though it is not to be denied, that they were manœuvred with such skill, as would have done honor to any officers in the British navy. The first action was fought on the twentieth of August, between the *Guerrière*, captain Dacres; and the *Constitution*, captain Hull: the former was rated at thirty-eight guns, but had forty-nine mounted; her gun-deck battery consisting of eighteen-pounders, with thirty-two pounder carronades on her

quarter deck; her complement being 300 men: the Constitution was rated at forty-four guns, but mounted fifty-six; her guns being twenty-four pounders, and her complement of men 450. The American frigate, as well as some others, had been originally intended for a line-of-battle ship; and her dimensions were equal to those of a British seventy-four: besides, the *Guerrière* had been long at sea, and was not in good fighting order: soon after the commencement of the action, she felt the effect of the enemy's superior weight of metal; and, having lost her mizen-mast, became quite unmanageable: but she did not strike until she was in a sinking condition; being set on fire and burnt by the enemy. Our ministers were justly censured for want of foresight, in not having been prepared with ships of sufficient size, or manned with sufficient crews, to cope with their antagonists; since it was well known what kind of frigates the Americans had built; and how they manned them with picked crews, composed in great part of British seamen, tempted to desert by large rewards and promises of protection: they forgot, too, that war, though it ought to be commenced only when every method to avoid it has been tried in vain, should, when begun, be carried on with promptitude, activity, and vigor; especially against such a people as American republicans.⁵ Complaints respecting the mode in which this was conducted, became augmented, when the *Macedonian*, another ship of the same class as the *Guerrière*, was captured by the 'United States' frigate, built also with the scantling of a seventy-four gun ship, mounting thirty long twenty-four pounders on her main-deck,

⁵ If these republicans, ever grasping, vindictive, and unjust, do drive us, contrary to all our inclinations, into a war on account of Oregon, or any other of their usurpations, it is to be hoped that our ministers, whoever they may be, will take it up in earnest, and prosecute it instantly with energy, *on a large scale*; for this will always be found true *economy*, as well as actual *mercy*, in the end: more especially it is to be hoped, that our admiralty will not, as so often has been the case, be found wanting; and that they will not mismanage that noble arm of British power—the navy. With our iron steamers we need no longer subject our troops to the calamities which they endured at New Orleans; while that city, and the whole course of the Mississippi, with its vast tributaries, would lie open to our advance. God, however, in his mercy grant, that better counsels may still prevail; and that war between kindred nations may no more pollute the annals of mankind.

CHAP. and twenty-two forty-two pounder carronades on her
LIII. quarter-deck and forecastle, with howitzer guns in her
1812. tops, and her complement consisting of 478 picked
men. Commodore Decatur, wishing to reap the full
advantage of his heavier metal, skilfully manœuvred,
so as to avoid coming to close quarters; and when
captain Carden, after an hour, brought his opponent
to close action, he felt still more the superiority of
force: having maintained an obstinate combat for two
hours and a half, his rigging being cut to pieces, his
mizen-mast shot away, several shots received between
wind and water, with many guns and a large portion
of his crew disabled, he was obliged to strike his flag;
and the prize was carried, amidst unbounded exulta-
tion, into an American port. Our naval armaments
on the lakes were attended by similar disasters; for
which the lords of the British Admiralty, who till very
lately have been the worst servants and the worst
masters in our government, justly deserved impeach-
ment, persisting, as they did, in a course so treacherous
to their country, even after its shameful results had
become manifest: but neither ministers nor people
expected a long continuance of this war; since it was
well known, that in the northern states of the union,
there was a large and powerful party averse to it, as
prejudicial to their interests; though the southern
states, being less connected with, or dependent on
English commerce, supported Jefferson's policy. Pro-
posals, apparently conciliatory, were made by both
parties, without producing even a suspension of hos-
tilities; while no apology was made by the American
government for its reprehensible practice of granting
certificates of citizenship to British seamen; nor any
allowance for the embarrassment in which our minist-
ry had been placed, through the violence of Bona-
parte's decrees, and the necessity of retaliation: it
appeared, from a declaration of the regent, that, as a
preliminary to any treaty, the president demanded us
to renounce, for ever, the right of search for British
seamen, which could not fairly be disputed or inva-
lidated; and this, on his sole assurance, that a law

should be enacted to prevent such seamen from entering the American service in future. An exclusive reliance, however, on a democratic state, for the preservation of so vital an interest, involved a greater degree of confidence than could reasonably be expected; and the proposal was rejected, together with a claim of indemnity for the arbitrary detention or condemnation of American vessels. A second application met with a similar refusal; and, in answer to three distinct charges of aggression, it was stated, that the affair of the Chesapeak frigate, which was fired into by a British officer for refusing to submit to a search, was improperly brought forward, because due reparation had been offered and accepted;—that a pretended mission of Mr. Henry, to effect a disjunction of the political league which united the republican states, had neither origin nor support in the British government;—and, that the assertion was equally untrue, which imputed to that government any instigation of the savages to hostilities. These allegations, however, said the prince, are not the real causes of the present contest; which will rather be found in that spirit of partiality, which prompts the American government to assist an aggressive tyranny of France, and inflame its people against the defensive measures of Great Britain. He then noticed the arbitrary conduct of the French ruler toward the United States; and their ready, abject submission to every act of violence and injustice done by that pretended friend; adding, that from their community of origin and interest with Great Britain, and from their professed principles of freedom and independence, they were the last power in which he could have expected to find a willing instrument and an abettor of French tyranny. The disposition of the republican government was strongly shown, in the nomination of Mr. Joel Barlow, an inveterate enemy of Great Britain, and admirer of her antagonist, as minister plenipotentiary to the court of France: and so eager was this gentleman in the prosecution of his designs, that, anticipating the certainty of Bonaparte's success and

CHAP.
LIII.
— 1812.

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

the ruin of Great Britain, he followed that invader even into Russia, that he might secure his favor, and profit by his conquests. This step however was fatal to himself; for, overcome by the inclemency of the weather, and the fatigues of travelling, he died at Zarnavica, an obscure village in Poland, without having had any opportunity to effect the object of his mission.

War be-
tween
France and
Russia.

We now come to the commencement of the last grand act in Bonaparte's career, his Russian expedition. An account of this gigantic contest is not compatible with the limits of our work: its origin has been already alluded to, in the indignation with which Alexander and his powerful subjects viewed the sacrifice of commerce to the continental system; and in the great game which Napoleon was playing for universal empire: its progress must be briefly detailed, so far as it tended to influence the affairs of the continent, in which our country had, for many years, taken a leading part. Its first effect was a renewal of amity and alliance between Great Britain, Russia, and Sweden; when the good offices of the former power were exerted in promoting a peace between the courts of St. Petersburg and Constantinople, by which a very considerable number of Russian troops were liberated for the defence of their native land. Early in the spring of this year, large bodies of French soldiers were continually marching through Germany: these, being joined by contingents of the Rhenish confederation, proceeded toward the Vistula, after leaving garrisons in the principal cities and fortresses of Prussia; with which power, as well as with Austria, a treaty of alliance had been concluded, engaging each to assist the French emperor with numerous forces: to meet this impending storm, the Russian monarch put his armies in motion, and by an imperial ukase of the twenty-third of March ordered a levy of two men in 500 throughout his extensive dominions. Professions of peace, as usual, preceded hostilities; Napoleon making offers both to England and to Russia: those to the former were despised; requiring, as they did,

our recognition of Joseph Bonaparte as king of Spain, and of Murat as king of Naples; whilst Alexander, in reply, demanded that the French troops should evacuate East Prussia. On the eighth of May therefore Bonaparte, accompanied by his august consort, set out from Paris, and proceeded, by way of Mentz, Wurtzburg, and Freyburg, to Dresden; where, after having received the homage of crowned heads in his journey, he was met by the emperor and empress of Austria; by the kings of Saxony and Prussia; while inferior monarchs, princes, and archdukes, crowded the ante-chamber, and made obeisance to this mighty conqueror: it seemed as if fortune offered the incense of this last pageant to his imperial pride, in order to make her desertion of him more severely felt. On the twenty-eighth of May, the count de Narbonne, who had been despatched on a pacificatory mission to the czar, returned with a declaration, that he had found him inflexible, 'neither elated nor despondent.' Alexander, indeed, not only felt that his cause was just, but that his determination was necessary; for the hostility of Napoleon was not to be so much dreaded by the autocrat, as the resentment of his own nobles. On the twenty-ninth, the emperors of Austria and France left Dresden: the one returned to Vienna; the other hurried toward the Vistula, which he passed on the sixth of June; and published a deceptive declaration to the Poles, announcing his determination to restore their ancient kingdom, and inviting them to rally round his standard: 300,000 infantry, and 60,000 cavalry, all effective troops, including a *parc* of 1200 guns, with a body of artillerymen 13,000 strong, beside that attached to each separate corps, did Napoleon carry against the dominions of his antagonist: 40,000 men also were left in Prussia, under the command of Augereau; while 60,000 more were in different garrisons, and on the march, from various parts of France and Germany.

On the twenty-fourth of June, the French army crossed the Niemen, never doubting that the Russians would try their fortune, as at Austerlitz and

Napoleon's
Russian
campaign.

CHAP.
LIII.
— 1812.

Friedland, in a pitched battle: it was, therefore, with surprise, that they saw these once ardent warriors evacuating province after province, and exercising no other hostility, but that of clearing the country, and carrying off its provisions: Napoleon thus entered Wilna without having struck a blow; and here he lost his last opportunity of establishing the independence of Poland, and securing the hearts of its inhabitants: the diet of Warsaw, after declaring all the treaties of dismemberment to be null and void, addressed him with confidence in their cause, and in his decision; but whether he wished to leave the door still open for accommodation with Russia, or dare not break the alliance with his father-in-law, which he had just secured by guaranteeing the integrity of his dominions, he answered the petition vaguely and obscurely: thus the Poles were disappointed, dissatisfied, and prevented from making any national efforts to assist him either in his advance or retreat.

Bonaparte calculated on finishing the campaign by September: his anxiety to reach Moscow was excessive; because he imagined that his occupation of that great capital would awe malcontents both at Paris and other European courts; while it might perhaps humble the czar himself to sue for peace: unexpected delay, however, in his progress, occasioned by the want of magazines, the badness of roads, the interception of escorts, with several severe repulses, and, above all, by the flames of Smolensko, and a system of devastation on which the Russian army acted, allowed him to advance by that time, no farther than to the celebrated field of Borodino; and there the Russians, under Kutusoff, departed from their plan of incessant retreat: for this determination they had adequate motives; the strength of their position being such, that victory itself must necessarily cost the French a dreadful loss of men, while defeat would save the ancient capital of Muscovy. The number of combatants seems to have been about 120,000 on each side, and the line of battle nearly three miles in extent: success was dearly purchased

by the French, who lost eight generals, in this the most sanguinary combat of modern times: the chief honor of the day rested with marshal Ney, who was created on the field prince of the Moskwa; but the night of victory was one of despondency to Napoleon, who saw, in seven or eight hundred prisoners, and a score of broken cannon, all his trophies: here were no brilliant results, like those of Austerlitz or Marengo; and the conqueror found that his antagonist would not dispense with future conflicts and more active struggles: Moscow, however, was won; and the French emperor took up his residence in the ancient palace of the czars;—that limit of his expedition, and tomb of his greatness. Here he again made offers of peace to Alexander, in a tone of affected moderation, and with professions of great personal admiration: he felt, indeed, the urgency of returning westward; but hoped to receive such an answer, as might enable him to give an appearance of concession to this measure of necessity: he was caught, however, in his own snare; for the answer was purposely delayed till the season of retreat was past: the fiat of the Almighty had already gone forth; and, ‘fire and hail, snow and vapors, wind and storm, fulfilling his word,’ were prompt to execute his vengeance on the despoilers of Europe. The flames of Moscow drove out those countless multitudes to perish in the midst of northern snows, from which their leader escaped, but only for a short period, to carry the news of his own defeat and disgrace to Paris: before the close of this year, Russia was cleared of the enemy. Murat was left in the supreme command, which he basely deserted, and fled to Naples: it then devolved on a far better man, the viceroy of Italy, who could scarcely, at first, collect a thousand men capable of bearing arms, behind the Vistula: only a few reserves, and the garrisons of fortresses, were remaining; but a sudden insurrection was prevented by these, as well as by the countries still occupied, and by the certainty that Napoleon himself had escaped: some powerful impulse was even yet necessary; and this was afforded

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

by Russia, when Alexander, pursuing the enemy even beyond the boundaries of his empire, gave that signal for the emancipation of Europe. It must here be observed, that, among all the hardships of this and the ensuing campaign, few examples of deficient zeal, still fewer of breach of duty, occurred among the French officers; and desertion, when it took place among the soldiers, proceeded from unavoidable necessity, scarcely ever from a conviction that they were wantonly sacrificed by their chief. By opening to them the road to promotion, by affecting to share their sufferings and dangers, Napoleon had succeeded in persuading his army that he loved them with a paternal tenderness; and these unhappy men were ready to attribute their misfortunes to any other cause than his extravagant ambition: even in Spain, notwithstanding the draughts of old soldiers, and losses sustained in frequent defeats, forces were collected, which pressed our army closely in the field, kept possession of Catalonia, and disputed the Pyrenean passes with us to the last: what would have been the solidity of the fabric, which this oppressor of nations had constructed for the subjugation of Europe, if its foundation had been good!

Affairs of
the penin-
sula.

We must now revert to the affairs of the peninsula: and here it may perhaps be asked, why Bonaparte, who could collect together such a force as we have been just describing, and was so desirous of accomplishing the reduction of Spain, did not complete its conquest before he encountered a new enemy in the north? The answer is, that the collection of those numerous armies in the north was necessary to the maintenance of his ascendancy; which would soon have received a violent shock, if he had ventured to withdraw any considerable number of his legions to the peninsula: even Prussia and Austria, whom he overawed by these hosts, and at last obliged to come forward in his cause, would in that case have quickly taken arms against him. His great, his fatal error was in attacking Spain at all: for that country, which might have been conquered without arms, was the

grave of his veteran troops, and occupied so many of his best forces, that, without giving up his idea of conquest there, and confessing his error, which the nature of Napoleon forbade, he could not resist the inundation which burst into France over the banks of the Rhine.

CHAP.
LIII.
—
1812.

Before the close of last year, the Spanish regency had fallen into universal contempt, as also had the Cortes: though vast sums were received, every service was neglected, and the treasury declared empty; while the temper of the public was soured towards England, and all things tended so much to anarchy, that sir Henry Wellesley declared 'Spanish affairs to be worse than they had been at any period of the war.' In November, the public cry for a new regency, supported by the British ambassador, became general: nevertheless, on various pretexts it was deferred; while the democratic party gathered strength in the Cortes, and the anti-English feeling appeared more widely diffused than ever, until the church and aristocracy perceived that the secret policy of England was in unison with their own. 'It was so,' says colonel Napier, 'even to the upholding of the *inquisition*; which, as was ridiculously asserted, had become objectionable only in name; as if, while the frame-work of tyranny existed, there could ever be wanting the will to fill it up.' In this state of affairs, the negotiation for colonial mediation was used by the Spaniards merely as a ground for demanding money and other succors, which they employed in fitting out new expeditions against their revolted colonies: the complaints of the British legation were totally disregarded; and so far did contempt shown by the Spanish government for their allies proceed, that La Peña was acquitted of all misconduct at Barosa, and would have been immediately employed, if our ambassador had not threatened to quit Cadiz.

Foreseeing the fatal consequences of this state of things, if suffered to continue, sir H. Wellesley sent Mr. Vaughan, the secretary of legation, to acquaint his own government with the facts, and to solicit a

CHAP.
LIII.
—
1812.

more decided course of policy; but he made it an especial request that all subsidies should be settled by treaty; and it was only now that the profligate and extravagant system introduced by Canning and Castlereagh was amended. The departure of Mr. Vaughan for England, which alarmed the Spanish government, and Blake's disaster at Valencia, aided the efforts of the British minister; so that on the twenty-first of January, after a secret discussion of twenty-four hours, a new regency of five members was proclaimed: O'Donnel, who was one of them, and had considerable influence, was friendly to the British alliance; so that all things went on well for a short time, until it was discovered that the furtive object was to procure another loan; and when this did not succeed, the old disputes broke out afresh; democratic spirit and anti-English feelings increased in the Cortes; while the new regency, as violent as their predecessors with respect to America, disregarded British mediation; and having secretly organised an expedition against their colonies, furnished it with artillery sent by England for the French war: then, under another pretence, they demanded money of our minister to forward this iniquitous folly.⁶

In Portugal, most of the evils heretofore described existed at the end of last year:⁷ the return of the royal family had been put off; and all reforms, military and financial, proposed or commenced, were thwarted or retarded: new quarrels also had arisen in the Brazils, where our own envoy lord Strangford was under the influence of the Souza faction; and nothing but lord Wellington's strong remon-

⁶ Napier, vol. iv. p. 353.

⁷ About that time lord Wellington thus wrote in a dispatch to Mr. Stuart. 'I assure you that, in a short time, there will be no Portuguese army left if all the military departments are not reformed as proposed—there is Barbacena's *brigade* not so numerous as one of our *squadrons*. Every thing else is the same: the sick and wounded are left to be taken care of by our medical officers; the artillery have no mules, and the guns must be sent away; for they have no ammunition, and we are at this moment *picking up the French ammunition* in our camps, &c. I am involved in a most serious situation; and it is quite impossible for me to allow matters to go on as they are. The Portuguese army are *not paid*, and many men, particularly of Pack's brigade have consequently deserted.'—See Wellington's Dispatches, vol. v. p. 1.

strance to the regent, backed by his brother's vigorous diplomacy, would have brought the court of Rio Janeiro to reason: its present submission was considered only as a nominal concession of power to allies and protectors, which was yet to be ripened into real authority: both lord Wellington and Mr. Stuart looked forward to future difficulties; and they were not mistaken: long before the conclusion of this year, the provisions of the country occupied by our troops, between the Coa and the Agueda, were all exhausted; and the continued negligence of the government, with respect to means of transport, rendered it impossible to bring up field magazines from the points of water carriage to the army: lord Wellington therefore had been obliged, contrary to all military rules, to separate his divisions in face of the enemy; and to spread his troops, especially the cavalry, even to the Mondego and valley of the Douro. To cover this dangerous proceeding, he retained a considerable post beyond the Coa; while the state of the roads, Hill's expedition in Estremadura, and some other circumstances, prevented Marmont from making any forward movements against him: in this war of positions, the British general had kept the advantage: by taking post near Ciudad Rodrigo, while Hill moved about Badajos, he had in a great degree paralysed the exertions of three armies, under Dorsenne, Marmont, and Soult.

Meantime, the works of Alneida, were so far restored, as to secure it from sudden attack; while, under cover and pretext of bringing up stores for that fortress, preparations were secretly made for an assault on Ciudad Rodrigo. 'Lord Wellington's moral situation,' says the peninsular historian, 'was simply that of a man who felt that all depended on himself; that he must, by some rapid and unexpected stroke, effect in the field what his brother could not effect in the cabinet.' His determination was soon taken; for while the French armies, occupied on all sides, were spread over an immense tract of country; Marmont, deceived by the apparently careless attitude of his principal opponent, had left Ciudad Rodrigo unpro-

CHAP.
LIII.
—
1812.

Capture of
Ciudad
Rodrigo.

CHAP.
LIII.

1812.

tected: against this devoted city therefore Wellington marched, in the beginning of January, with the first, third, fourth, and light divisions, aided by Pack's Portuguese: the fortress was to have been invested on the sixth; but the weather was so dreadful, that numbers of men perished on the march by cold and fatigue; besides, the indolence of the natives was so great, that the carters occupied two days in moving their empty vehicles over ten miles of flat ground; while it was dangerous to find fault with men who deserted on occasion of the slightest offence:⁸ the place therefore was not invested till the eighth; on the evening of which an advanced work, covering the point of attack, was gallantly stormed by the fifty-second regiment, with a few brave Portuguese volunteers, under lieutenant-colonel Colborne; and this allowed the first parallel to be driven within 600 yards of the wall. The siege was carried on by the four divisions alternately for twenty-four hours; and each had to march twelve miles every morning to the trenches: no interruption was allowed to take place from the tremendous storm of shot and shells incessantly sent by the enemy during operations; but the breaching batteries were rapidly erected, lest Marmont should interrupt the progress of the siege: the sacrifice of life in this instance appeared less serious than that of time, which would have been followed by an aggravation of the former: on the eleventh, two breaches were declared practicable, and the assault was committed to the third and light divisions, the flower of the British army; Pack's Portuguese being ordered to make a false attack on the opposite side of the town: 500 volunteers, commanded by major Manners of the seventy-fourth, with a forlorn hope, under Mr. Mackie of the eighty-eighth, composed the storming party of the third, or 'fighting division;' while the light division sent 300 on the same desperate service, led by major George Napier, with a forlorn hope of twenty-five under lieutenant Gurwood, both of the fifty-second regiment. Picton and Craufurd, two of the most

⁸ See Wellington Dispatches, vol. v. p. 461.

intrepid spirits that ever led brave men into action, headed their divisions up to the breaches; each of which, after a wild and deadly struggle, was nobly won; but the latter officer fell by a musket-ball just as the shout of victory burst on his ear; and Picton's second in command, the gallant general Mackinnon, was slain by the explosion of a magazine, spreading death alike among friends and foes, at the very foot of the rampart. A fearful pause followed this event; but it was brief: the breach was widened by the accident; and our troops, rushing forward over dead and dying men, carried the intrenchments behind which the enemy was ensconced: two guns on each side of the breach, being isolated by a wide gap in the wall, commenced a destructive fire of grape and canister on the assailants; but these also were seized, and all obstructions gave way to the determined valor of British soldiers: the light division, with equal courage and activity, had surmounted its difficulties, and was soon met by the third; which, on gaining the intrenchments, made a flank movement to its right. Almost at the same moment, the Portuguese brigade under Pack, whose gallantry was conspicuous, rushed into the town; having turned his feigned attack on the castle into a real one, when he met with less resistance than he expected: the French therefore were taken in rear, and surrounded on all sides: still however they fought in the streets and houses, from a conviction that little mercy would be shown by troops heated and excited by so obstinate a defence; and according to the accounts of all who witnessed the dreadful scenes of this night, its terrors could hardly be surpassed. 'Throwing off,' says colonel Napier, 'the restraints of discipline, the troops committed frightful excesses: the town was fired in three or four places; the soldiers menaced their officers, and shot each other; intoxication soon increased the tumult; and at last, the fury rising to absolute madness, a fire was wilfully lighted in the middle of the great magazine; when the town, and all within it, would have been blown to atoms; but for the energetic courage of some officers, and a

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

few soldiers, who still preserved their senses.⁹ The duration of this siege was only twelve days, being half the time calculated on at first by the British general: the loss of the allies was about 1200 soldiers and ninety officers, in killed and wounded; while, on the side of the enemy, there fell 300, and 1500 were made prisoners: immense stores of ammunition also, with 150 pieces of artillery, including Marmont's battering train, were captured. Craufurd and Mackinnon, lamented by the whole army, were buried with military honors in the breaches of the fortress; but to recompense an exploit so boldly undertaken and so gloriously finished, the commander-in-chief was created duke of Ciudad Rodrigo by the Spanish government, marquis of Torres Vedras by the Portuguese, and earl of Wellington by his own.

When order had been restored, workmen were set to repair the breaches and level the intrenchments, while means were taken to provision the place. On the eleventh, Marmont arrived at Valladolid: on the fifteenth, he first heard of the siege; and the twenty-sixth arrived, before he knew that the fortress was lost: his troops were much harassed by ruinous marches in winter; many detachments were cut off by guerilla parties; the regular Spanish troops were also put in motion; and it became impossible for him to move against Ciudad Rodrigo, before the place was secured against all attacks. Our general's eyes were next turned toward Badajos, which he was desirous to invest early in March; because then inundation from

⁹ This account is thus confirmed by captain Kincaird, in his interesting *Adventures of the Rifle Brigade*: — 'Finding,' he says, 'the current of soldiers setting toward the centre of the town, I followed the stream, which conducted me into the great square; on one side of which the late garrison were drawn up as prisoners; and the rest of it was filled with British and Portuguese intermixed, without any order or regularity. I had been there but a very short time, when they all commenced firing, without any ostensible cause: some fired at the doors and windows, some at the roofs of houses, and others at the clouds; and, at last, some heads began to be blown from their shoulders in the general hurricane; when the voice of sir Thomas Picton, with the power of twenty trumpets, began to threaten with his usual energy, while colonel Bernard, colonel Cameron, and some other active officers, were carrying his orders into effect with a strong hand; for seizing the broken barrels of muskets which were lying about in great abundance, they belabored every fellow most unmercifully about the head who attempted either to load or fire, and finally succeeded in reducing them to order.'

the rivers in Beira would enable him to carry his troops without risk into the Alemtejo; and a similar cause would impede the junction of the enemy's forces in Estremadura. The obstacles which lord Wellington had to contend with in this enterprise, were such as could only have been overcome by talents which rose with difficulties:¹⁰ the greatest was a want of specie, which crippled all his operations: but he was now aided by fortune; for Marmont, having lost his emissaries at Ciudad Rodrigo,¹¹ and being unable to measure his adversary's abilities and energy, had dispersed his troops, in order that he might more easily feed them; and he appeared to dread no farther operations on the part of the allies.

Arrangements having been completed, Wellington set off for Elvas, which he reached on the eleventh of March, and prepared to invest Badajos, though all his troops and stores were not yet arrived; but even now his march being ten days later than he had designed, brought his operations into the violent equinoctial rains. This, says colonel Napier, was one of the evils produced by the incredibly vexatious conduct of the Portuguese regency: there was no want of the means of transport; but as the government would not force magistrates to do their duty, the latter either refused to procure carts, or obliged the poorer classes to supply them; from which oppression the peasants naturally endeavored to escape by flight: thus all arrangements for investing Badajos on the sixth of March had been made; but the rich town of Evora, which had not seen the face of an enemy for more than three years, refused to supply any carriages at all; and the operation was necessarily put off till the seventeenth.¹² It was in vain that the British general remonstrated and threatened, or that Mr. Stuart exerted himself with equal vigor to infuse energy into

¹⁰ The reader will find them fully described in colonel Napier's fourth volume.

¹¹ Papers indicating them were discovered at the capture of the town, when they were all barbarously massacred by the vile Carlos d'Espana.

¹² 'At this moment (says lord Wellington) I am destroying the equipments of our army in transporting the stores from Elvas to the ground of the siege, because no assistance is given by the country, or assistance that is quite inadequate to the demand and wants of the service.'—*Dispatches*, vol. v. p. 562.

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

this extraordinary government in matters either of small or vital importance: insolent anger and falsehood, disgraceful subterfuge and stolid indifference, from the highest to the lowest functionary, met them at every turn: even the iron strength of Wellington's body and mind was strained in the struggle, and he fell into a sickness; from which, however, he recovered after a few days. 'The critical nature of the war,' says its historian, 'may here be judged of; for no man could have taken his place at such a moment: no man, however daring or skilful, would have voluntarily plunged into difficulties, which were likely to drive Wellington from the contest.'

Investment
of Badajos.

On the fifteenth of March, pontoons were laid over the Guadiana; and next day Beresford crossed it, drove in the enemy's posts, and invested Badajos with the third, fourth, and light divisions; which, with a brigade of Hamilton's Portuguese, amounted to 15,000 men. Soult being before the Isla, Drouet at Villafraanca, and Daricau near Medellin; general Graham, passing the river with three divisions of infantry and two brigades of cavalry, marched on Llerena; while Hill moved by Merida on Almendralejos: these covering corps, including near 5000 cavalry, amounted to about 30,000; and as the fifth division was now on its march from Beira, the whole army presented about 57,000 sabres and bayonets; of which 20,000 were Portuguese. Castaños had repaired to Galicia; but the fifth Spanish army, under Morillo, passed down the Portuguese frontier to the Lower Guadiana, intending to fall on Seville, when Soult should leave it to succor Badajos: as the allies advanced, Drouet marched in the direction of La Serena and Medellin, intending to keep open the communication with Marmont by Truxillo. Hill then halted at Almendralejos, and Graham took post at Zafra: but Marmont had moved most of his troops in the direction of Valladolid; and it soon appeared that the French army of Portugal would not act in conjunction with that of the south. It would be incompatible with the limits of this work to give a complete detail of the energetic

and skilful operations conducted on both sides, in this celebrated siege; but the reader will find them described, as the events of no other siege ever were described, in colonel Napier's admirable account of it. General Phillipon, than whom no governor ever defended a city with greater skill and courage, possessed a garrison of 5000 men, and had also improved the defences of the place by every possible resource of art, since the last attack. The plan fixed on by the British commander was to breach the bastions of Trinidad and Santa Maria, after the advanced fort of Picurina should have been stormed; and then to point all the guns against the connecting curtain of those bastions, which was of weaker masonry, that a third breach also might be made: a storming party was employed to turn any intrenchments behind the breaches in the bastions; and though the ditch was discovered to be here eighteen feet deep, such was the general's confidence in his troops, and in his own resources for aiding their efforts, that he resolved to storm the place without blowing in the counterscarp. The battering train, of fifty-two pieces, was directed by that able officer, major Dickson: of 900 gunners present, 600 were Portuguese; but 150 men of signal bravery volunteered from the third division to act as sappers: the direction of the siege was given to Picton; while generals Kempt, Colville, and Bowes alternately commanded in the trenches. Late in the night of the seventeenth, 1800 men, protected by a guard of 2000, broke ground at the distance of 160 yards from the Picurina fort; and as a tempest stifled the sound of their pick-axes, a communication, 4000 feet in length, was formed; and a parallel of 600 yards was opened, three feet six inches wide, and three feet deep. Next night, two batteries were traced out; the parallel was prolonged right and left; and on the nineteenth, a sortie was made by the garrison, in which they left 300 killed or wounded; while the besiegers lost about half that number: among the wounded, was colonel Fletcher, chief engineer.

The trenches, during greater part of the siege, were

CHAP.
LIII.
—
1812.

half full of water, by reason of the heavy rains, which also impeded its progress: but notwithstanding such weather, and the uninterrupted fire of the enemy, the besiegers were enabled to open six batteries, mounting twenty-eight guns, on the ninth day after the investment; by which the scene was rendered one of awful grandeur: but the result of a siege is said to be always certain, unless some diversion be effected from without; and the only calculation to be made, is the manner in which it can be conducted with the greatest expedition and least sacrifice of life. On the night of the twenty-fifth, Fort Picurina, being much dilapidated, was attacked and bravely carried by 500 select men of the 'fighting division,' under major-general Kempt, but led in three detachments by the honorable captain Powys, and majors Shaw and Rudd: the fire which met these assailants was very destructive; but nothing could subdue their courage and perseverance; so vehement indeed was their attack, that the enemy forgot, or had not time, to roll down the shells and other combustibles arranged on the ramparts. Phillipon, says colonel Napier, did not conceal from his garrison the danger arising from this loss; but he stimulated their courage, by reminding them, how worse than death it was to be the inmate of an English hulk! 'an appeal,' he adds, with too much justice, 'which must have been deeply felt; for the annals of civilised nations furnish nothing more inhuman toward captives of war than the prison-ships of England.'

The fire of the captured fort was now turned against the place; a new communication from the first parallel being made, and three breaching batteries traced out: but while the siege was proceeding, Soult, expecting a great battle, put his troops in motion; strenuously urging Marmont to join him for the relief of the town: but the latter preferred making a diversion against Ciudad Rodrigo, the fortifications of which had been much neglected by the Spanish officers; and he trusted that he should induce Wellington to hasten to its succor: but the British general knew too well the local obstacles against which Marmont would have to con-

tend: he made preparations, however, to fight Soult without stopping the siege; yet that marshal did not dare to risk a battle.

CHAP.
LIII.
— 1812. —

Of all officers who have defended a place, in modern times, Phillipon seems to have possessed the greatest skill and readiest resources: every obstacle, which human ingenuity could devise, was thrown in the way of the besiegers; but Wellington's plan was simply to effect a practicable breach, confiding in the well-tryed courage of his men to force their way through it into the place: no respite had been given to the garrison; for the fire of the breaching batteries continued through the night; so precious was time for reducing this place during the disjunction of the French armies. The morning of the sixth of April opened with the same heavy cannonade, which had lasted for twelve successive days, without cessation: by four o'clock in the afternoon, a third breach was reported practicable; and directions were given for an assault at seven, though the hour of ten was subsequently appointed. This attack was ordered to be made on three points; the castle, the face of the bastion La Trinidad, and the flank of that of Santa Maria: the castle was to be escaladed, and the breaches of the two bastions to be stormed: twenty-seven *memoranda* were comprised in the general order, descending to minute particulars, in order to secure, as far as possible, the safety of our troops, and the success of their enterprise: the British general, says colonel Napier, was so sensible of Phillipon's firmness, and the courage of his garrison, that he spared them the affront of a summons; and 18,000 daring soldiers burned for the signal, which was to send them to a conflict, so fiercely fought, so terribly won, and so dreadful in all its circumstances, that posterity can hardly be expected to credit the tale. Badajos was become a point of personal honor with the soldiers of each nation; but the desire for glory was, in the British, dashed with a hatred of the citizens, on account of an old grudge: recent toil and suffering, with much spilling of blood, had rendered many of them incredibly savage; and numbers being

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

heated with the recollection of Ciudad Rodrigo, thirsted for the spoils of conquest: thus every spirit found a cause of excitement, and that excitement was driven to madness by the scene which ensued: unlucky delay in the time of attack gave Phillipon an opportunity to construct such defences, that even the undaunted courage and resolution of our soldiers were of no avail against them; and the place would have defied their efforts, had not an unexpected event paralysed the energy of its defenders. According to arrangements, the assault was to be made simultaneously at all points: Picton and his division were to move from the trenches a short time before the others; but were to appear beneath the walls of the castle at the moment when the fourth and light divisions should attack the breaches of La Trinidad and Santa Maria respectively; the diversion being made by the fifth, on the opposite side of the town, near San Vincente.

Storm and
capture of
Badajos.

Owing to unforeseen accidents, the movements of the divisions were disturbed; yet all marched silently toward their respective points of destination, in the darkness of night: that darkness, however, was soon dissipated by the light of fire-balls, thrown up from the ramparts; which, burning brilliantly in the air, brought out the advancing legions in full relief: then opened the terrible fire of the garrison; but there was no pause, nor was a shot returned: the illuminated atmosphere showed their path to the assailants; but the storm grew hotter and hotter, as the enemy saw more clearly the approaching masses: at length, the fourth and light division rushed toward the breaches; while the third, led by Kempt, passing the Rivillas over a narrow bridge, in single files, and under an incessant fire of musketry, gained the ground beneath the castle walls: their gallant leader then fell, severely wounded; and Picton, though he had been delayed by a hurt from a fall, hastened to assume the command. ‘Never, probably, since the invention of gunpowder,’ says colonel Jones, ‘were men more exposed to its action, than those assembled to assault the breaches:’ ‘the tumult,’ observes colonel Napier,

'was such, as if the very earth had been rent asunder, and its central fires were bursting upwards uncontrolled:' shells, handgrenades, bags of powder, and every species of destructive missile had been prepared, and arranged along the parapet; which, under an unceasing roll of cannon and musketry, were hurled into the ditch, without intermission, for upwards of two hours; and, when the assailants, undismayed by this havoc of death, rushed up the breach, they saw glittering across it a range of keen-edged sword-blades, firmly fixed in ponderous beams, chained together, and set deep in the ruins: for ten feet in front, the ascent was covered with loose planks, studded with sharp iron points; which, being pressed by the feet of the foremost, tilted up; and the wretched victims, falling forward on the spikes, rolled down on the ranks behind: then the French, shouting at the success of their stratagem, plied their muskets, of which every man had several; and each musket, in addition to its ordinary charge, contained a small wooden cylinder, stuck full of leaden slugs, which became scattered like hail in the discharge: but again the assailants rushed up, and again were stopped by the dreadful sword-blades; while hundreds fell from shot and shells: so furious did the men now become, that, in one of these charges, the rear endeavored to precipitate the front ranks on the murderous weapons, in order to make a bridge of their writhing bodies; but the others frustrated the attempt by dropping down. These scenes took place at the bastion of La Trinidad; while that of Santa Maria equally withstood all assaults: on both, their defenders stood undaunted, and, with deriding shouts, demanded of the assailants, why they did not come on, and capture Badajos?

It was difficult to determine whether soldiers or officers were most conspicuous in this deadly strife: leaders were never for a moment wanting, nor hundreds to follow them; but still it was the same hopeless attempt: though the gate to victory seemed open, the barrier was impassable. By about midnight, when

CHAP.
LIII.
—
1812.

2000 men had fallen, and the communications made to Wellington held out no expectation of success, he began to meditate a retreat; but at that moment an aide-de-camp came galloping up, where the commander stood surrounded by his staff, to inform him, that Picton had taken the castle by escalade: 'then the place is ours,' was the quick reply; and lieutenant Tyler was sent back with directions for the general to retain it at all hazards. This acquisition had been made against obstacles almost as great as those at the breaches; for the castle walls were of an immense height; and it was with the utmost difficulty the assailants could succeed in raising ladders, most of which broke by the rush of men, and the fire of the enemy; when those who had succeeded in mounting them were precipitated on the bayonets of their comrades below.¹³

While the third division lay close in the castle, either from fear of risking the loss of so important a post, which ensured the capture of the place; or from the great difficulty of egress, (for the French, as if anticipating such an event, had built up the gateways and passages with strong masonry) the fifth division had commenced its false attack on the Pardeleras; and the Portuguese were sharply engaged at the bridge on the right bank of the Guadiana: then, general Walker's brigade, having passed on during the feint, escaladed the distant bastion of San Vincente, amidst a dreadful fire; when a part of his men entered the town to dislodge the enemy from the houses; and others fought their way along the ramparts toward the breaches: these latter were at length abandoned by their defenders; but a last effort was made to recover Badajos by an attack on the castle: Picton's invincible division, however, beat back the French with frightful slaughter, though an incredible

¹³ One of the first to make the daring ascent was lieutenant Macpherson, of the forty-fifth, closely followed by sir Edward Pakenham.—See the extraordinary adventure of these two heroes, in the *Life of Picton*, vol. ii. p. 98. The brave colonel Ridge, also, who so distinguished himself at Ciudad Rodrigo, fell in this escalade; 'and no man,' says colonel Napier, 'died that night with more glory; yet many died, and there was much glory.'

number of their officers and comrades lay dead, or badly wounded, in the ditch below. Phillipon, who, with the survivors of his garrison, had retired into Fort Cristoval, surrendered early next morning to lord Fitzroy Somerset; no time being given him to organise any farther resistance: 'but,' says colonel Napier, 'even in the moment of ruin, the night before, that noble governor had sent out horsemen to carry the news to Soult; and these reached him in time to prevent a still greater misfortune.' Here the pen must stop, nor disclose the scene of wild and desperate wickedness, which tarnished British glory, when the miserable city fell into the hands of its assailants: the horrors of that scene lasted three days, 'till the soldiers were exhausted by their own excesses, and the tumult rather subsided than was quelled.'

Our general has been sometimes blamed for the great risk he ran, and the great sacrifice of life made for the possession of Badajos;¹⁴ but, as colonel Napier justly observes, 'his object was great, his difficulties foreseen, and his success complete.' Immense plans were in contemplation for the subjugation of the peninsula; and this was the only period when they could be successfully counteracted; while Napoleon was unable to take the command: but how could any extensive operations be attempted as long as Badajos remained in the enemy's possession? This place was, in fact, the key to all lord Wellington's movements, when the grand crisis arrived: a regular siege would have been prevented by the French armies; and, even if they had permitted it, the time necessary for its accomplishment would have given every advantage to the enemy. 'Was he,' asks the historian, 'at such a moment, to place the probable loss of a few thousand men in opposition to such a conjuncture of circumstances; and, by declining the chance offered, show

¹⁴ There is a passage in the duke of Wellington's Dispatches which does such honor to his humanity, that I cannot help quoting it here. 'In all the sieges which I have carried on in this country (says he, in a letter to lord Wm. Bentinck) I have used only the fire of guns, principally from an opinion that the fire of mortars and howitzers has an effect on the *inhabitants* of a town alone; and that a French garrison, in a Spanish or Portuguese town would be little likely to attend to the wishes or feelings of its inhabitants.'—vol. v. p. 557.

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

that he despaired of success? What, if he had failed? he would not have been, save the loss of a few men, worse off than if he had not attacked: in either case, he would have been a baffled general with a sinking cause: but what, if he succeeded?—the horizon was bright with the coming glory of England.'

The British general was anxious to crown this interesting and important campaign by a trial of strength with the duke of Dalmatia; but the neglect of Spanish engineers, with the tyranny of Carlos d'España, had rendered Almeida insecure; and Marmont was preparing to attack it. Knowing however that the danger was not imminent, he still lingered a few days; hoping that Soult, indignant at the loss of Badajos, would risk an encounter with its conqueror: he was certain also that the French marshal had but little time for deliberation, since the operations of the secondary armies had already commenced: Seville indeed might have been taken, if there had existed any thing like skill and concert among their commanders. These, added to other important considerations, determined Soult to retire into Andalusia; and Wellington despatched sir Stapleton Cotton, with a division of British cavalry, to harass his rear: that gallant officer came up with an equal number of the enemy's horse, near Usagre; when, by a skilful manœuvre, he charged them at the same moment in front and flank; routed them with great loss; and, during a pursuit of four miles, captured several officers with 128 privates.

In the mean time, Marmont was ravaging Beira with dreadful devastation, having been driven from his designs against Almeida, principally by the energy and enterprise of colonel Trant, who commanded a body of Portuguese militia. Alarming reports, however, now reached lord Wellington, respecting the danger of Coimbra and other strong places in that district, which made him hasten to avert it: Marmont's situation, near Sabagul, then became very critical; for he had Almeida and a strong body of militia at Guarda on his right flank; Ciudad Rodrigo lay on his

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

rear; and immediately behind him were the rivers Coa and Agueda, swollen by inundations, which had swept away the nearest bridge at Caridad. Fortune, however, so far favored him, that the Agueda subsided before the British army could come up; and being thus enabled to repair the bridge, he carried his last division over it, on the twenty-fourth of April, into the plains of Leon. Wellington then made great exertions to revictual Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo; intending to leave Picton on the Agueda, while he himself marched into Andalusia, according to his original plan: but its difficulties were insurmountable; the French had totally exhausted the country; and the Portuguese government not only refused to assist him, but actually permitted Elvas and Badajos to suffer from a deficiency of provisions. In this dilemma, after writing sharply to the regency, declaring 'that on their heads he would throw the responsibility of losing those fortresses if they did not immediately revictual both,' he employed all the carriages in bringing up stores to Almeida and Rodrigo, while he quartered his troops, at the chief points of water-conveyance, on the Douro, the Mondego, and the Tagus: a bold measure; since this line was little less than 400 miles in length, and in the face of three armies; the farthest being only a few marches distant from its outposts: but he knew how difficult it must be for the French to assemble in large masses before the ripening of the harvest. About this period Spanish pride began to abate a little, and the government of Spain allowed a limited number of its subjects to serve in British regiments.¹⁵

After a short period of repose, our commander determined again to take the field, and crossed the Agueda on the tenth of June, with a force of about 45,000 men in four columns: as a prelude however to his operations, he had directed general Hill, whom he left on the Guadiana with 10,000 infantry and 1200 cavalry, to attack the strong fortifications and bridge of Almaraz, on the Tagus: this, like every other ser-

Advance of
lord Wel-
lington.

¹⁵ Wellington Dispatches, vol. v. p. 656.

CHAP.
LIII.

1812.

vice entrusted to sir Rowland Hill, was brilliantly executed, and all direct communication between Marmont and Soult intercepted. On the sixteenth, Wellington came up with his antagonist in front of Salamanca, which is built on the right bank of the Tormes: the enemy's advanced detachments immediately retired behind that river; and, as the bridge was commanded by three forts, constructed with great skill and strength, it became necessary to take them: a battering train however had been already ordered up from Elvas; and the service was entrusted to the sixth division, under general Clinton; while the allied army was posted on the heights of St. Cristoval, three miles in advance of the town, to cut off Marmont's communication with the troops defending those forts. Not discouraged by an abortive attempt to carry one of them by escalade, our soldiers persevered, until a breach was effected in another, and the third was thrown into flames: in consequence of this, they were quickly reduced; and the hold which Marmont possessed on Salamanca being destroyed, it became evident that he must fight or retreat: he chose the latter alternative, and withdrew toward the Douro, followed by the allies; who, coming up with his rear-guard on the second of July, attacked and compelled it to cross the river in much confusion, and with considerable loss. The rival armies then took up positions on opposite sides of the Douro, where they remained till the sixteenth; and it is observed by an ingenious writer,¹⁶ that much friendly intercourse took place between the soldiers of each; more especially between the third British division and the seventh French; and he adds, that the French officers said, on parting, 'We have met, and been for some time friends; we are about to separate, and may meet as enemies: as friends we have received each other warmly; as enemies we shall do the same:' in ten days afterwards, these divisions were actually opposed to each other at Salamanca; and the seventh French was nearly annihilated by the British third.

Marmont, being now joined by general Bonnet who

¹⁶ The author of 'Reminiscences of a Subaltern.'

brought 10,000 men from the Asturias, found himself at the head of an army amounting to 47,000 veterans: thus reinforced, he determined to resume offensive operations; and, by a series of skilful manœuvres, threw his troops over the Douro, about twenty miles above Toro: he thus succeeded in re-establishing communications with the army of the centre, while he threatened to cut off our fourth and light divisions, as well as Anson's brigade of cavalry; but these troops contrived to rejoin the main body, which had taken a position on the Guarena. Several days were then passed by both armies in movements and counter-movements; sometimes marching in parallel lines, within half cannon-shot of each other: then the allies, falling back and followed by the French, would suddenly halt as if to fight; on which, the enemy, in his turn, would decline the proffered contest; still it was evident that to this they must come at last. On the twentieth of July, the allies again occupied the heights of St. Cristoval, while Marmont was yet manœuvring: each commander waited only for some unfortunate movement, or false step to be made by his antagonist. On the evening of the twenty-first, lord Wellington, passing from the right to the left bank of the Tormes, occupied a position on a bold height, one of the two called Arapiles: the French had crossed that river in the morning, and taken post on the other height, threatening to cut off our communication with Ciudad Rodrigo; and it was to counteract this intention, that the British general moved his army: still Marmont persevered in his object, and his antagonist resolved to prevent it.

The night of the twenty-first was very tempestuous; and as the soldiers were all under arms, the storm, which kept them wet and sleepless, ill-fitted them for the exertions of the ensuing day. Early in the morning, Wellington posted the third division behind Aldea Fejada, on the extreme right of his position, under the gallant Pakenham; and a better substitute could not have been found for its old and illustrious leader, Picton, who lay ill of a dangerous fever in Salamanca:

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

the situation of this well-trying corps is said to have given to it the chief honor of deciding the victory by a rapid movement, illustrating what is termed the oblique order of battle.

The morning was spent in anxious suspense by the allies, who were prepared for a decisive conflict; but their foe gave no indication of his design to commence it till noon, when some confusion was observed in his ranks; though nothing occurred, which induced Wellington to make any change in his own position. At length, about two o'clock, an aide-de-camp informed him, that the enemy was extending his left, with an evident intention of turning the British right; on which, taking up a telescope, and attentively watching this movement for a considerable time, he saw that they were delivering themselves into his hands, and instantly gave orders for the third division to advance: these troops had been hitherto concealed from the view of their adversaries; and a strong detachment of cavalry was stationed between them and the main body of our army, in order to prevent them from being taken in flank, as well as to second the grand efforts which were expected from their known valor: the general's concise orders to Pakenham were, 'to move on, take the heights in front, and drive every thing before him;' and that officer's answer in the affirmative was still more laconic.

Battle of
Salamanca.

Unfortunately for the enemy, their commander was wavering in his manœuvres, when he ought to have been fixed in position: the French seventh division had been drawn out to the left, for the purpose of alarming Wellington; and when the British third appeared across its path, an aide-de-camp was despatched to general Foy, its commander, to return to his former ground: the French line therefore was in considerable confusion, as the British rapidly advanced in open column of companies against the heights: these however were well defended with artillery, which sent a shower of balls among our troops; and was answered by some guns under captain Douglas in the rear; so that the British were actually between two

fires; the shot from their own cannon flying over their heads, while those of the enemy thinned their ranks: these however were silently filled up; and the columns moved on, with undaunted resolution, toward the summit of the hill, whose living masses seconded the fire of their artillery with murderous discharges. By a well-judged manœuvre of sir Edward Pakenham, the companies formed into line without halting; and panting with their exertions, gained the summit: then Foy's division, which had hitherto reserved its fire, poured into them a close volley; and the ground was strewed with the leading men of Wallace's brigade. Confident in the paralysing effect of this discharge, the French were preparing to drive their opponents down the hill at the point of the bayonet, when through the dissipating smoke they perceived the faces of those veteran troops rapidly, but steadily advancing: for a moment, there was an almost death-like silence: this however was soon broken by the quick, but ill-directed fire of the French, answered by one of those terrible cheers which precede the irresistible charge of British troops. Pakenham, remembering his instructions, 'to drive every thing before him,' had given the word; the step was accelerated; and as the distance diminished, a well-directed volley was poured into the opposing column; to which the dreadful rush of bayonets immediately succeeded. 'The close phalanx,' it is said, 'for an instant bent from the shock: then, for several minutes, the living mass swayed backward and forward; but at length it yielded:—another effort, and it was broken: they fled; and the seventh French were destroyed by the British third.'¹⁷

In the mean time, the allies were contending in the centre with equal fury, though not with such distinguished success: even on the right, as the cavalry had not advanced, Pakenham could not take complete advantage of his movement; which being observed by Foy, he brought up a fresh brigade, and was beginning to restore the combat; when the tramp of Le Marchant's heavy horse, flanked by Anson's light cavalry,

¹⁷ Life of Picton, vol. ii. p. 152.

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

was heard behind the British infantry: these instantly opened their ranks; through which the fierce squadrons rushed on their disconcerted foe: the French however quickly formed squares, and their volleys brought down many a gallant horseman; among whom, was the brave Le Marchant himself, whose horse, being at full speed, carried his lifeless body against the bayonets of his opponents. The contest however could not last long, though the broken squares bravely resisted: the troopers with their long swords cut down the exhausted soldiers with unsparing fury, until the latter fled even to the British line for protection: it was given as freely as it was demanded; 'not a man,' it is said, 'was bayoneted; not one was even molested or plundered; and the invincible old third on this day surpassed themselves; for they not only defeated their terrible enemies in a fair fight, but actually covered their retreat, and protected them at a moment, when, without such aid, their total annihilation was certain.'¹⁸

Victory now appeared more sure; for the flying French were spreading confusion in their own line, and the British, under Pakenham, were seen advancing against their right flank: the fourth division, under general Leith, which was stationed to the left of Pakenham, seeing the success of the latter, now advanced; and though their distinguished leader fell severely wounded, the men pressed on, driving their adversaries from the field, and forcing them up the hill at their rear. In the centre the result was more doubtful, where Cole's division made a gallant attack on Bonnet's corps, and threw it into confusion: the security of his advance however depended on the success of Leith's division, as well as of Pack's Portuguese, who were to have carried the enemy's height, of the Dos Arapiles, on the left of our fourth: but the Portuguese having failed, the artillery on that position was turned against Leith's flank and rear with terrible effect: then the French centre, whose commander, Bonnet, had been carried off the field wounded, was rallied by general Clausel, a man of distinguished mili-

¹⁸ Author quoted in the *Life of Picton*, vol. ii. p. 155.

tary talent, who saw at a glance the turn which affairs had taken. Bringing up a reserve, and the remains of two broken columns, this brave officer became the assailant: our fourth division gave way; Cole himself fell wounded; and his troops were on the retreat: marshal Beresford bravely attempted to stop them with a brigade of Leith's division; but these, being principally Portuguese, could not effect his purpose: the marshal himself was disabled by a severe wound, and the whole mass was borne back in confusion by the opposing line. Lord Wellington however had been apprised of the danger, and galloped to the spot; when the hand of the master restored order, and turned the tide of battle: the sixth division, under general Clinton, which had not yet fired a shot, was ordered up; and as the enemy saw through the twilight this unbroken corps marching in array against them, they paused, and commenced a heavy fire; the contest however was now to be decided by the bayonet, that weapon, in the use of which the British infantry is confessedly pre-eminent. While the first and light divisions therefore were ordered against the cavalry and artillery on the flanks, Clinton's men advanced up the steep and rocky height in line, under a murderous fire of musketry and artillery; but without returning a shot: soon the fearful charge commenced; the enemy, attacked at the same time in front and flank, gave way in all directions; and their destruction would have been complete, if the shades of night had not opportunely covered their retreat: Wellington himself, with the first and light divisions, and a body of cavalry, followed them till darkness rendered pursuit impracticable: indeed, sir Stapleton Cotton was wounded by a British sentinel, who mistook him for an enemy. This memorable battle was fought within sight of the famed city of Salamanca; and the ground, with its heights rising gradually one behind another, formed a magnificent theatre for such a spectacle. On the part of the allies, 5000 were killed or wounded; among the most regretted of whom was general Le Marchant, a very distinguished officer, who introduced the Hungarian

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

sword exercise into our service, and had been the principal planner of the royal military college. The French lost three generals slain, and three wounded, Marmont, Bonnet, and Clausel, each of whom had successively taken the command-in-chief: their total loss was very great;¹⁹ and, beside dead and wounded, they left 7000 prisoners, eleven guns, and two eagles, in the hands of the conquerors: 5000 of these captives, as it is said, with nine of the guns, and both eagles, were taken by the third division; 'so that 'Salamanca' was justly added to the many glorious names already inscribed on the colors of its regiments.'²⁰

The pursuit of the discomfited foe was renewed next day beyond the Tormes, and the British troops came up with their rear-guard of horse and foot; when the former fled, and left three brigades to their fate: general Bock, with a heavy brigade of the German legion, attacked them though formed in squares; and, in one of the finest charges ever seen, rode completely through their ranks, though with a loss of more than 100 killed and wounded; but great numbers of the enemy were made prisoners: in the course of the day, the French were joined by a corps of 1200 cavalry from the army of the north, which covered the retreat of their centre, as it hastened toward Valladolid: their stragglers however met with little mercy at the hands of the peasantry, armed with those long knives which form a part of the Spanish costume: the pursuit was continued on the twenty-fourth; but the fugitives made long marches, and had little to encumber them; though a patrol captured two officers and twenty-seven men of Joseph's royal guard between Arevalo and Avila. So far the king himself had advanced, with the army of the centre, to join Marmont on the Tormes; but being there met with tidings of defeat, he turned off toward Segovia; though he afterwards

¹⁹ The whole French army might have been taken but for the bad conduct of Don Carlos de Espana.—See Wellington Dispatches, vol. v. p. 758. Even at this period lord Wellington was cruelly used by his own, as well as the peninsular governments. He had neither horses sent to mount his cavalry, nor guns of sufficient calibre to match the French artillery. 'It is very hard,' he says, 'to be cannonaded for hours together and not be able to answer even with one gun.'

²⁰ Life of Picton, vol. ii. p. 160.

endeavored to divert the pursuers, by threatening an advance on their flank. The defeated army, in the mean time, whose movements were very skilfully conducted by Clausel, concentrated itself on the left bank of the Douro, near the bridge at Tudela de Duero; but was obliged to cross that river as the allies advanced, and hasten to Valladolid; which city it was obliged to evacuate, leaving behind seventeen pieces of artillery, many stores, and 800 of its sick and wounded men; when it continued the retreat toward Burgos: lord Wellington here discontinued his pursuit, and turned toward the intrusive monarch; determined by one bold effort to compel him to fight with inferior forces, or to evacuate Madrid. Leaving therefore a strong detachment under general Paget to observe the line of the Douro, he advanced through Segovia and St. Ildefonso against the king, who allowed him to pass un molested through the mountains, venturing to hope that his subjects would assist him against the English; but the demonstrations of enmity to his government, and of satisfaction at the approach of the allies, were too evident to be misunderstood: Joseph and his partisans therefore evacuated the capital; and on the morning of the twelfth of August, the British liberators were received by its citizens with every token of enthusiastic joy: the Retiro, having made a short and feeble resistance, surrendered at discretion, with its garrison of about 2000 men, 189 cannon, 20,000 stand of arms, and an immense quantity of ammunition and stores.

Lord Wellington enters Madrid.

These brilliant successes, however, were far from completing the recovery of Spain. So ineffective was the aid afforded by the natives, so great was that military power which yet remained to be subdued, and so difficult to be broken were the combinations of Napoleon's genius, that a triumphant result seemed rather to be wished than expected: in eastern Spain, the troops sent from Sicily and Majorca, under general Maitland, were of a motley description, without cavalry; and so much below the stipulated number, that they were totally unable to check the progress of Suchet.

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

Siege of
Burgos.

Southward, indeed, some consequences of the late battle were strongly felt, in the evacuation of Seville by the French, and their abandonment of works connected with the blockade of Cadiz; for Soult perceived that nothing less than a concentration of the French armies would compel the allies to fall back on Portugal: but the Cortes, now free to act, and alive to the necessity of greater exertions, committed the control of all their armies and generals to Wellington as captain-general. In the north also, some gallant exploits displayed the adventurous spirit of the guerilla chiefs; who had been nobly assisted in their enterprises by a squadron under sir Home Popham, accompanied by sir Howard Douglas and general Carrol: but the retreat of Wellington from Madrid, when three hostile armies of the south, the centre, and the north were closing round him, and more especially his failure at Burgos, where he was obliged to undertake a siege without the requisite means of success, obscured for a time the prospects of the allies. Burgos being the only *dépôt* remaining to the French army of Portugal, general Souham, who had succeeded to Clausel's command, threw a strong garrison into its castle, after avoiding a contest with the allied army by retiring on Briviesca. The British general, though he was without heavy artillery, commenced operations by sapping, mining, and assaults, as if he hoped to gain possession of the fortress by the magic of his name: for thirty-five days this siege was carried on without interruption, but danger then appeared in the horizon; for the army under Souham, being re-organised, was approaching for its relief. The miserable Ballasteros, instead of obeying orders, and harassing Soult's retreat into Valencia, had done nothing beside making an appeal to the Spanish army and nation against the Cortes, for investing lord Wellington with the chief command; so that the duke of Dalmatia, joined by Suchet and the king, were advancing against sir Rowland Hill with an overwhelming force. This intelligence induced his lordship to raise the siege of Burgos, recall his troops from Madrid, and direct Hill to proceed north-

ward and join him: accordingly, having relinquished the enterprise, he moved toward Salamanca, where he hoped to establish himself.

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

The cavalry of his rear-guard, being furiously attacked in this retreat by the army of the north, fell into confusion, from which it was seasonably relieved by the German light infantry. To obstruct pursuit, the bridges over different rivers were blown up, as soon as the allies had passed; but that temporary check did not prevent occasional conflicts, which were attended with some loss: at length, the harassed troops reached the position of St. Cristoval, near Salamanca, where they halted; and the Tormes then divided the united French armies, exceeding in number 90,000 men, from 53,000 of the confederates. The disposition of the natives toward their British allies at this place, and it was not very different in others, may be learned from the narrative of the peninsular historian. 'The Spaniards,' he observes, 'civil and military began to evince hatred of the British. Daily did they attempt or perpetrate murder; and one act of peculiar atrocity merits notice. A horse, led by an English soldier, being frightened, backed against a Spanish officer commanding at a gate, when he caused the soldier to be dragged into his guard-house and there bayoneted in cold blood; nor could any redress be had for this or other crimes, save by counter-violence, which was not long withheld. A Spanish officer, while wantonly stabbing at a rifleman, was shot dead by the latter; and a British volunteer slew a Spanish officer at the head of his own regiment in a sword fight, the troops of both nations looking on. The civil authorities, not less savage, were more insolent than the military, treating every English person with intolerable arrogance. Even the Prince of Orange was like to have lost his life; for on remonstrating about quarters with the sitting junta, they ordered one of their guards to kill him; and he would have been killed, had not Mr. Steele of the forty-third, a bold athletic person, felled the man before he could stab: yet both the prince and his defender were obliged to

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

Retreat of
the British
into Por-
tugal.

fly instantly, to avoid the soldier's comrades. The exasperation caused by these things was leading to serious mischief, when the enemy's movements gave another direction to the soldiers' passions.'

An unsuccessful attempt was now made by the French to cross the river at Alba; but they effected the passage at an undefended ford to the southward. Wellington, finding his communication with Portugal thus endangered, prudently but leisurely continued his retreat to the frontiers of that kingdom; where, supported by the fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida, he secured his army in winter-quarters: the campaign might have had a very different result, but for the vile jealousy of Ballasteros, who was arrested by order of the Cortes, and banished to Ceuta. The retreat of the allies, like such movements in general, when pressed by a superior force, had been so marked by disorder, rapine, and every species of atrocity, that their commander indignantly complained in public orders of a 'want of discipline, greater than that of any army with which he had ever served, or of which he had ever read;' these reproaches, however, were generally resented as an ebullition of mortified pride, under the consciousness of an error committed: his lordship had wasted thirty-five days before Burgos, which was not important enough to have detained him five; and he felt his failure before such a fortress as a grievous disappointment: but how few generals could afford to make an error like him! King Joseph now returned once more to Madrid; while Soult, who took the chief command of the combined French armies, established his head-quarters at Toledo, with his right wing resting on Salamanca.

In England, a popular outcry was raised against lord Wellington on account of this retreat; and even his great acts were forgotten by many in the condemnation of a single failure: fortunately however ministers were not influenced by such sentiments; but being satisfied with the explanation of his motives, and pleased with the mark of confidence which the Spanish government, casting aside that jealous pride

which ill agreed with its circumstances, had reposed in this great commander,—they resolved to send him all possible assistance. Thus encouraged and supported, his lordship employed the winter months in rendering his army so effective, that in the ensuing campaign he might enter on a more decisive and extended course of operations: for this purpose he proceeded to Cadiz, to make arrangements for the co-operation of the Spanish armies; when it was settled that 50,000 troops should be placed at his disposal. He was received with distinguished honors by the Cortes, who augured, that under the direction of so great a leader, those troops would pitch their victorious tents on the banks of the Seine: ‘it would not be the first time,’ said their president, ‘that the Spanish lions had there trampled on the old fleur-de-llys of France.’ From Cadiz Wellington repaired to Lisbon, passing under triumphal arches in every town from Elvas to the Tagus, and receiving from the people of the capital the honors which he so well deserved.

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

Parliament was dissolved this year, to get rid, as was generally supposed, of its pledge to the Roman catholics; and it certainly was desirable, during the times of which we are now treating, to evade that perplexing question; as the nation appeared to think, from the change made in many of its representatives. In a letter however from lord Liverpool to the chancellor, the following reasons are given for the determination of ministers. ‘Considering,’ says he, ‘the success of our military operations, the abundant harvest in every part of the United Kingdom, the increasing tranquillity of our disturbed districts, and the profound quiet in every part of Ireland, we should hardly be justified in not availing ourselves of all these favorable circumstances, or in adjourning the dissolution to some future period, when, from causes unavoidable, such a measure might be not only inconvenient, but even hazardous.¹ This general election was also destined to commence a new era in the

Dissolu-
tion of
parliament.

¹ Life of Lord Eldon, vol. ii. p. 226.

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

political life of one who was rising fast to the head of affairs. On the twenty-fifth of September, a public meeting was held in Liverpool for the purpose of inviting Mr. Canning to represent that flourishing town in parliament: five candidates were put in nomination, but his opponents were Messrs. Brougham and Creevey: the contest was severe, but the exertions made on his behalf were unprecedented; and he was maintained, from first to last, at the head of the poll. On this occasion various opportunities occurred of eliciting an expression of his sentiments on important political questions: with respect to parliamentary reform, he declared, that his mind was made up not to support it; because he was persuaded, that it could not be stirred without stirring other questions, which would shake our constitution to its very foundation; because the house of commons, as then constituted, was adequate to all the functions which it was wisely and legitimately ordained to execute; and because showy theories and fanciful schemes of arithmetical or geographical proportion would fail to produce any amelioration of the present house. ‘I deny,’ said he, ‘the grievance; I distrust the remedy: when it is asserted to me again, as I have often heard it, that, under our present corrupt system, there is no true popular delegation, no uninfluenced or disinterested choice of representatives, my mind will recur at once to the scene that is now before me, and repose with perfect contentment on the practical contradiction which Liverpool affords to assertions so disparaging to the people.’ All this was very pretty oratory; but if Mr. Canning had stood for Appleby or Cambridge against the interests of the powerful noblemen who commanded those boroughs, he would have found that it was not the charm of his eloquence that could have moved the flinty hearts of electors: and how many towns, and even counties, at that time were in the situation of those mentioned! With regard to the catholic claims, he fully developed his views in favor of their concession; referring to the conscientious scruples of the king, as having deterred him so many

years from expressing his sentiments on the subject. In meeting various imputations which had been cast on him during the election, he thus expressed himself respecting his acceptance of office:—‘ If I have held office, I hope I have held it honorably; and I will never hold it again but on the same terms. I am not to be blamed, if I must state facts in my own defence, which might otherwise appear ostentatious: it is intirely my own fault, gentlemen, that I am not now addressing you with the seals of a secretary of state in my pocket: twice, in the last six months, have they been tendered to my acceptance; and twice have I declined them.’ That he was at this time willing, if not anxious, to accept office, was apparent from the reconciliation just made between himself and lord Castlereagh; and, if he was considered important to the administration, when a member of parliament without constituents, deriving his political existence from the corruptions or abuses of the constitution, it was equally evident, that such importance would increase from his place in the senate; representing, as he now did, one of the most extensive, free, and wealthy towns in the empire.

The new parliament assembled on the twenty-fourth of November, when the commons unanimously re-elected Mr. Abbot for their speaker; and on the thirtieth, the regent delivered from the throne a speech which embraced a variety of topics, the most prominent of which was the war in the peninsula, that in the north of Europe, and the contest in America. On the motion for an address, lord Wellesley took a review of the past Spanish campaign; arguing, that the system pursued by ministers was timid without prudence, and narrow without economy; profuse without the fruits of expenditure, and slow without the benefits of caution: he complained that his brother had not been adequately supported by ministers; but lord Liverpool declared, that every requisition made by lord Wellington had been complied with. Lord Grenville persisted in his old opinion, that deliverance of Spain was beyond the utmost means of this country

CHAP.
LIII.

1812.

Opening of
the new
parliament.

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

to effect: 'it was cruel,' he said, 'to embark that nation in so hopeless a cause, for the sake of a little temporary advantage: ministers had not advanced one step in the accomplishment of their object; and this third progress into the interior of Spain proved, by its failure, the correctness of those data on which his opinion was founded: how vain was their boast of having delivered Andalusia, which the French could re-occupy whenever they pleased! the blame of this did not lie with the Spaniards, but with those who encouraged hopes which they had no right to entertain; the fault was with our ministers, who, in their ignorance, overrated the condition of Spain, and anticipated from her more than she could possibly perform.' With greater reason, he asked,—'why ministers, with a revenue of £105,000,000, or more, extorted by the most grinding and oppressive means from a suffering people, were yet unable to supply lord Wellington's military chest? The difficulty arose from their incapacity, not from the deficient resources of the country: they might diminish by one half the income of every individual in it, with as little effect, or promise of ultimate success, as had attended those plans which led them to circulate a vile adulterated paper currency throughout the nation: when such had been its effects, why not at this moment stop the contest in Spain?'

In the house of commons, Mr. Ponsonby declared, in similar terms, that it was useless to waste our blood and treasure for an unattainable object: 'it had been proved,' he said, 'that the power of Great Britain could not drive the French out of the peninsula.' Mr. Freemantle thought, that by the battle of Salamanca we had gained nothing but glory; and that the deliverance of Spain was no nearer than when lord Wellington was within his lines of Torres Vedras. Mr. Whitbread did not carry his forebodings to so great a length: he admitted that our situation in the peninsula was glorious beyond example, as regarded the achievements of our armies; though with respect to the expulsion of the French, he did not think this result

was so near as some people expected: he was far from wishing to refuse the means necessary to bring the war to a successful issue; but feeling for the burdens of the people, and threatened with the financial abilities of our present chancellor of the exchequer, he thought the last resources of this country ought not to be granted, without some security for their proper application: under such circumstances, his advice was to address the regent on the possibility of effecting a general pacification, by taking advantage of that perilous situation in which Bonaparte now found himself; and which must necessarily dispose him to peace. Mr. Whitbread, however, did not divide the house on his pacific amendment; and the address, which was, as usual, an echo of the speech, passed unanimously. A similar one was carried in the upper house, where lord Grenville inveighed strongly against the war with America; which it was now difficult to terminate, though it might have been avoided by a timely revocation of our orders in council.

Probably no set of men have been ever subjected to more ridicule and contempt, on account of their forebodings of discomfiture and disgrace, than the opposition members of that day; certainly, no predictions were ever less verified by events: thus much, however, may be said in extenuation of what may now appear like mental hallucination; that it was not so easy for men at home to penetrate the deep and comprehensive plans of our great general; while the immense force opposed to him, the strange infatuation of the peninsular governments, and the defective arrangements hitherto made by our own, were evident to all men. Brighter days, however, were now approaching: our regent was animated with a hearty and truly British determination to strike home at the great despoiler of nations; the premier was prepared to enter into his views, and parliament to second them; all felt confidence in the valor of our troops, and the skill of their commander.

One of the earliest subjects that engaged the attention of the commons was the bullion question. Before

CHAP.
LIII.

1812.

the appointment of the committee, gold had risen from £3. 17s. 10*d.* to £4. 10s. the ounce, and since that appointment, to £5. 5s.; that is, bank paper was depreciated thirty-five per cent.: the house, however, thought proper to repeat Mr. Vansittart's resolution of last year, that guineas and bank-notes were considered equivalent to each other in public estimation: this probably was the effect, neither of ignorance, nor of any fraudulent intention; the safety of the kingdom depended on the continuance of war; and without such a resolution embodied into a law, how could the contest have been carried on?

Private subscriptions to a large amount had been raised for the suffering inhabitants of Russia; and on the seventeenth of December a message was sent to parliament by the regent, recommending additional relief; when a sum of £200,000 was cheerfully granted for so benevolent a purpose: this generosity was acknowledged with gratitude by the emperor Alexander, who declared his joy at the renewal of friendship with a nation which had so steadily persevered in the deliverance of Europe. A grant of £100,000 was also voted to the great captain who was working so gloriously for this cause in the peninsula: parliament then adjourned, over the Christmas holidays, to the second of February: but before we proceed to its acts at that important period, a few domestic events demand our brief attention.

Domestic
events.

During the whole course of the war, a want of secure and extensive anchorage near the entrance of the channel had been severely felt; and no place appeared so convenient for this purpose as Plymouth-sound; but, unfortunately, that road, being wholly open, and exposed to south-west gales, afforded in its natural state no protection during the very storms which obliged our fleets to seek a refuge there. Lord Grey, when at the head of the naval department, first contemplated the possibility of converting this into a safe harbor, by the construction of a break-water;²

² The honor however of originating this undertaking is claimed by captain Brenton for the great earl St. Vincent.—See his *Life*, vol. ii. p. 260.

but to Mr. Yorke belongs the merit of having adopted the plan, being confirmed in his opinion of its practicability by that celebrated engineer, Mr. Rennie. The first stone of this stupendous work, which is 5100 feet long by 250 broad at the foundation, far exceeding any wonders of the ancient world, was sunk on the twelfth of August: as a similar structure, attempted by the French government at Cherburg, had failed, owing to the small size of the stones, as well as the ill-judged form of the mound, the blocks used in this varied from one to ten tons in weight; and a very considerable slope was given to it on the side presented to the ocean.

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

The cultivation of the fine arts was this year greatly promoted by the purchase of Mr. Townley's noble collection of ancient statues, which were deposited in the British Museum; while a splendid prospect was opened for the metropolis by the commissioners of his majesty's land revenue; notice being given of their intention to request from parliament an act for making those vast improvements around Charing-cross, and in the line from Carlton-house to the Regent's-park, which have rendered the capital worthy of our nation. Among the more remarkable trials which took place, was that of Daniel Dawson, at the summer assizes in Cambridge; for poisoning some race-horses at Newmarket, by mixing arsenic in the troughs at which the animals were watered: he was convicted chiefly on the evidence of an accomplice, and suffered the penalty of death for his crime: on the sixteenth of December, a proof was given that no subject in this realm is too high for the law to reach, when the marquis of Sligo was brought to trial at the Old Bailey: the charge against him, was that of seducing seamen from the king's ships in the Mediterranean to navigate his yacht; and this being proved, he was sentenced to pay a fine of £5000, and to be imprisoned in Newgate four months.

The commons met again on the second of February, and the lords on the following day; but no business of public interest was taken up in either house till the

Re-assembling of
parliament.

CHAP.
LIII.

1812.

eleventh, when lord Castlereagh moved the second reading of a bill, which had been previously introduced, for the appointment of a vice-chancellor of England, with full power to determine all cases of law and equity in the court of chancery; his decrees to be of equal validity with those of the lord chancellor, but subject to the revision of the latter; and not to be enrolled until they received his signature. This bill was strenuously opposed by Mr. Canning and sir Samuel Romilly: the former wished to preserve the office of lord chancellor in all the plenitude of its power and splendor of its authority: he was not imputing any negligence to lord Eldon, when he said, that if the bill should pass, a time might come, when all the business of the court would be thrown on this new officer and the master of the rolls. Sir Samuel contended, that it would effect a complete change in the character of future lord chancellors; and that the country would never again see such men as Somers, Camden, and Hardwicke. The solicitor-general, with far better judgment, insisted on the necessity of providing justice for the subjects of the realm, now exposed to all the dreadful inconveniences of delay occurring in the chancellor's court; and the second reading was carried by a large majority: in the committee, it was vehemently opposed by Mr. Leach, who afterwards distinguished himself in this very office; but the bill finally passed into a law, and sir Thomas Plumer was appointed to preside over the new court, with a salary of £5000 per annum; to be paid out of the dead fund: this consisted of money originally deposited by private suitors; who, as well as all their representatives, had died before their suits terminated; and the ease with which this fund supplied such a sum, incontestably proved the necessity of some reform.

On the eighteenth, the American war afforded a subject of discussion: in the commons, Mr. Canning declared, that the provocations to it in the orders of council never met with his approbation; but, as he considered conciliation and concession from our government more likely to increase American insolence than

lead to any pacific results, he strongly recommended more vigorous measures, and condemned the supineness of ministers: after an elaborate speech, in which a comprehensive view was taken of the powers of the New World, he concluded by observing, with reference to those who then had the control of our navy, 'that they held the pen when they should launch the thunder.' In the upper house, lord Lansdowne expressed disapprobation, because, owing to the disposition of our naval force, triumphs had been afforded to the Americans; and the marquis Wellesley, though he agreed in the justice of the war, blamed the manner in which it had been conducted; hoping that an opportunity for inquiry would soon arrive. Ministers were defended by lords Bathurst and Melville; the latter of whom declared,—as heads of departments were so accustomed to declare, when parliamentary censure fell on their measures,—that all our admiralty arrangements were the best possible, and defied investigation. With regard to the claim set up by the United States—that any subject of any state, possessing letters of naturalisation, or a certificate of citizenship from the American authorities, should be exempt from reclamation by his own native country—their fallacy was exposed by lords Bathurst and Eldon; such claim being, in fact, a demand of power to cancel all ties of allegiance: yet on this principle the Americans had required, as a preliminary to any negotiation, that England should suspend her right of impressing British seamen found on board American vessels. In each house, an address was voted without a division, stating that the pretensions of the American government could not be admitted without a surrender of some of the most ancient, undoubted, and important rights of the British empire; promising also cordial and zealous support in the prosecution of a just and necessary war.

The approach of the princess Charlotte to the full age of sovereignty induced sir Francis Burdett to move for leave to bring in a bill, providing for any interruption in the exercise of royal authority; and he stated in his speech, that in case of the death or disability of

Affairs of
the prince
and prin-
cess of
Wales.

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

the regent, his object was, that the powers, now exercised by his royal highness, should devolve without restriction on the next heir to the throne: this motion was supported by the opposition, but rejected by a majority of 238 to 73, on the ground of so remote a contingency, and the propriety of leaving the discretion of parliament unfettered: ministers however were supposed to have consulted, not so much the feelings of parliament, as of the prince, who had a strong aversion to any question or arrangement made in contemplation of his death. Other discussions however arose, in which the princess was concerned, exciting a more lively and general sensation in the public mind: the severe restrictions, by which she was interdicted from frequent intercourse with her mother, induced the latter to address a letter to her husband, setting forth in strong terms the hardship and injustice of such a separation: this letter was returned unopened by lord Liverpool, at the command of the regent; in the mean time, preparations had been made for presenting the young princess at court; and both she and her mother were dressed for the drawing-room, when an intimation was sent to the latter, that she would not be allowed to present her daughter; that office having been delegated to the duchess of York: accordingly, no presentation took place. Again, about the middle of February, the princess of Wales, having sent a remonstrance to lord Liverpool, on account of an appointed visit from her daughter having been prohibited, was informed that such prohibition had been ordered in consequence of a recent publication of the princess's letter to the regent in the newspapers: in that document, the expression, 'suborned traducers,' was pointedly introduced; and this had given such offence to the prince, that he referred the matter to his privy council, who advised that all intercourse between the princess of Wales and the princess Charlotte should be subjected to regulation and restraint.

In this stage of the business, her royal highness addressed a letter to the speaker, with a request that it should be communicated to the house of commons;

throwing herself on the wisdom of parliament, and desiring to be treated as innocent, or proved guilty: a considerable pause ensued after the reading of this document; and no one seemed inclined to take up the subject, till Mr. Whitbread rose, and declared his opinion that such a communication was intitled to the most respectful attention. Mr. Cochrane Johnstone, who had already given notice for a motion respecting the princess of Wales, was now called on by the speaker; but, on his rising, Mr. Lygon moved the standing order for exclusion of strangers, and Mr. Johnstone refused to proceed: next day however he concluded a long speech, by moving an address to the regent for copies of all papers connected with the investigation; but lord Castlereagh, alleging that the only ground for inquiry would be the existence of doubts with regard to the succession, exhorted the house to dismiss the subject altogether, as such doubts were entertained by no reasonable or unprejudiced person. Mr. Stuart Wortley did not wish for investigation, because he conceived that the report of 1807 contained a complete acquittal of the princess; and he did not scruple to throw out some severe censures against the prince; declaring, that if he had a sister in the situation of the princess, he would say that she was exceedingly ill treated.

As lord Castlereagh had intimated in his speech, that the opposition were secret movers of these proceedings, Mr. Ponsonby indignantly repelled such insinuations, declaring that he should despise those who made family quarrels a stepping-stone to office: he had never done so; but he could not say as much for the living and the dead: this allusion to intrigues by the Perceval ministry met with no reply, and the motion was rejected: Mr. Whitbread however would not suffer the question to be so soon consigned to oblivion; he presented a petition from sir John and lady Douglas, requesting permission to produce before a regular tribunal the evidence which they had formerly given before the commissioners of inquiry, whose au-

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

thority was not sufficient to justify, in case of falsehood, a prosecution for perjury: he wished that these parties might be brought to justice for their calumnious assertions; but as he found that this point could not be gained in the strictness of law, he hoped that some other method would be adopted to satisfy the public: he then took notice of some 'disgusting and atrocious documents,' which had appeared in two morning papers, known to be under the control of government, and patronised at Carlton-house; and concluded by moving that an address be presented to the regent, complaining of the appearance of those offensive reports, and desiring the punishment of all persons concerned in giving publicity to such indecorous and degrading sentiments. Lord Castlereagh, after a vehement attack on Mr. Whitbread for illiberal and unfair reflections on the prince, earnestly deprecated any agitation of this question; and it was not to be supposed that his suggestion would be neglected, since the house cordially desired to avoid all investigation of the subject: the public generally saw in these proceedings of the prince, a design to degrade his consort; accordingly, they shut their eyes to all the circumstances of her self-degradation, and rallied round her as a persecuted and unprotected woman; addresses, expressed in very strong language, were agreed to in London, Westminster, and Middlesex, in consequence of which, the restrictions on her intercourse with her daughter were considerably relaxed.

Renewal of
the East
India com-
pany's
charter.

One of the most important subjects that came before parliament this session related to the East India company, who applied for a renewal of their charter, as the period of its expiration approached: numerous petitions however were received from the outports of the united kingdom, praying for an opening of the trade; and ministers did not consider it advisable to grant a monopoly to the desired extent: it appeared that the company had not sufficient capital to carry on their commerce with full effect; and some branches, which might be profitably cultivated, were in conse-

quence neglected. It was the opinion of administration, that this deficiency could be advantageously supplied, by conceding a share of the traffic to British merchants generally, under certain conditions: the principal of these were, that all ships engaging in the private trade should be of 350 tons burden or upwards; and those for the settlements of Fort William, Fort George, Bombay, or Prince of Wales's Island, should be provided with a license, which the court of directors were bound to grant; a special license being required to other places, which that court might grant or refuse, subject to an appeal to the board of control: but lord Castlereagh, by whom these concessions were proposed, stated that he and his colleagues had no intention of interfering with the company's territorial claims; which part of the system might safely remain under its present management: in consideration also of difficulties to which the trade of individuals might be subjected by the capricious selfishness of the Chinese government, commerce with that empire would still be confined to its original channel. Animated debates arose in the progress of this ministerial scheme; which, although the company made strenuous efforts to retain their monopoly, appeared just and reasonable to a majority of both houses: it was not however merely a commercial scheme; but it partook of a political and religious character, inasmuch as it provided for the better government of provinces, and more economical management of funds; regulated the administration of justice; and, in addition to the appointment of a bishop with three archdeacons, encouraged the propagation of Christianity among the natives by licensed missionaries: thus a bill was enacted for prolonging the company's territorial power to April, 1834.

During the agitation of this important question, the chancellor of the exchequer brought forward several schemes of finance; one of which was calculated to facilitate the redemption of land-tax: a second proposed that on all future loans there should be an additional one per cent. to the sinking fund for their

Financial
statements.

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

extinction; also that on exchequer bills, and other floating unfunded property, a sinking fund of one per cent. should be established: his third proposition was to repeal part of the act of 1802, which provided that the sinking fund then existing should be suffered to accumulate at compound interest, without any interruption or encroachment, until the funded debt to which it belonged was wholly liquidated: it had already, as Mr. Vansittart stated, redeemed as much as formed the amount of the whole debt when Mr. Pitt's plan was adopted; therefore he thought it expedient that the rigor of appropriation should be relaxed, for the relief and convenience of the public. Till the debt, which then remained, was completely redeemed, he said it would be proper to make good to the sinking fund an annual sum of £870,000, which would have been appropriated to the redemption of different sums provided for in 1802, if Mr. Pitt's plan of consolidation had taken place, and if those sums had been accompanied by the usual redeeming fund of one per cent.: though this scheme interfered with the inalienable character of the sinking fund, it was thought more advisable that the community should derive occasional benefit from the increasing mass, than to wait for the full effect of indefinitely promised redemption; and the change proposed was adopted by both houses.

During the debates on army estimates, Mr. Whitbread took occasion to make some pertinent remarks on the absurd alterations of dress among our soldiers; regretting to see such mummerly imposed on them, at which every Englishman laughed as they passed along the streets: he could wish also that the national uniform had not been departed from: scarlet was the established English color, and the soldier was proud of it; why then had we adopted the varieties used on the continent, in consequence of which many fatal accidents had happened to our men, mistaking each other for enemies? To have interfered however with the arrangements of military dress, would have been to cut off the

principal source of enjoyment which his high station had conferred on the regent. Addicted to this passion in his early youth, and encouraged in it by courtly parasites, he clung to it latterly with a fond and faithful attachment; so that not only were the convivial meetings at Carlton-house, that paradise of tailors, enlivened by learned disquisitions on costume; but a very large portion of each morning was dedicated to practical illustrations of the noble art of cutting out cloth.

The catholic question was brought forward and discussed with a few circumstances of novelty: on the twenty-fifth of February, Mr. Grattan moved for a committee of the whole house on this subject, and each party anticipated a triumphant result for itself: the veteran mover of the resolution spoke with a union of eloquence and argument, which was only equalled by the splendid efforts of Mr. Plunkett in the same cause; and after the debate had been continued through four adjournments, this motion was carried at five in the morning of the fifth day by a majority of 264 votes against 224. On the ninth of March, the house went into committee; when Mr. Grattan moved two preliminary resolutions, which were opposed by the speaker, who, having left the chair, and taken his seat on the treasury bench, assumed his privilege as a representative of the commons: he declared himself not adverse to concession, but was hardly willing to go farther than the allowing free exercise of religious worship to Roman catholic soldiers in England, as well as in Ireland: after a long debate, however, the resolutions were carried by a considerable majority; and on the thirtieth of April, Grattan brought forward a bill, which was ordered to be read a second time on the eleventh of May; but at that period, when the second reading was about to take place, sir John Cox Hipplesey, a veteran in the cause of emancipation, conceiving himself slighted by the framers of this measure, moved a previous inquiry, so vast and various in its details, that to have gone through it satisfactorily

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

must have put off the subject to a future age: his proposition was received with flattering testimonies of applause by the opponents of the bill; but, after calling forth an unrivalled effusion of wit and sarcastic humor from Mr. Canning, was rejected: the second reading, however, could not take place that night; and three days were gained for the exertion of influence and authority. On the eleventh of May, the bill was read a second time, and committed on the fourteenth; when considerable alterations were made, with a view to satisfy the doubts and fears of protestants: on the twenty-fourth, it was brought again before a committee of the whole house, in which the opposing party determined to make a final stand: the speaker was again the first to rise; and as all yielded to his claim of precedence, he took this occasion of delivering a very elaborate speech, which he concluded by moving, that a clause which opened the two houses of parliament to Roman catholics, be omitted: after a long debate, his motion was carried by a majority of four, and the bill was abandoned by its supporters as unworthy of acceptance. This rejection of their claims was received by the Irish catholics with sentiments of extreme indignation; and an absurd proposition of appealing to the Spanish Cortes, for their mediation with our government, was referred to a committee. Little less of wisdom or moderation was shown by those English protestants, who displayed their triumph over the disappointed party, by the establishment or renewal of Orange lodges: the object however of these associations, as well as the spirit and temper which they manifested, was so severely reprobated in parliament, even by ministers themselves, and excited so much disgust among the more sober-minded portion of the protestant community, that they were soon broken up: yet it was lamentable to find some of the leading nobles in the land, some of the chief favorites of princes, so far forgetting themselves, as to patronise associations, that were not only hostile to a wise and moderate policy, but also at variance with our legal

institutions. When, alas ! will history cease to become a dead letter ?

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

The extensive principles of religious toleration displayed in previous discussions, induced Mr. William Smith, one of the members for Norwich, to bring in a bill for relieving unitarian dissenters from pains and penalties to which they were subject. According to a statute of William III. a person who should impugn the doctrine of the Trinity, in conversation or writing, was incapacitated from holding any office, civil, ecclesiastical, or military; and if a second time convicted of this offence, he was prohibited from prosecuting any action or information, or from becoming guardian to a child; beside being liable to an imprisonment of three years. Neither the ministers nor the bench of bishops opposed concession in this instance; and a bill of relief was speedily enacted.

While parliament declined the grant of fresh concessions to the Romanists, a strong inclination was shown to promote the interest of a numerous and deserving party in our own ecclesiastical establishment: the general disproportion between the stipends of curates and the value of livings which they served, as well as the necessitous condition of many who undertook the duty of non-resident clergymen, had long been a reproach to the church of England: to remove this stigma lord Harrowby brought forward a bill for the augmentation of stipends payable to English curates; and though it met with opposition from that strenuous defender of establishments the lord chancellor, the chief justice, and several prelates, who contended that it would encroach on the rights of beneficed clergymen, and even on private property, it passed triumphantly through both houses.

Among political debates, one of the most animated related to a convention with the Swedish court: in the upper house, this treaty provoked great severity of animadversion, notwithstanding an elaborate vindication of its terms by the earl of Liverpool; who maintained the policy of securing zealous co-operation

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

from Sweden, which Napoleon had eagerly endeavored, both by threats and promises, to obtain. Through the solicitations of the Russian emperor, the king and crown prince had been induced to enter into the confederacy against France; and it was resolved, that, as the Danes had been subservient to French interests, they should be deprived of Norway for the gratification of the Swedes; who would thus be enabled more effectually to secure a respectable independence: to this stipulation our court had acceded, not only for the reasons already assigned; but because it was desirable, that a country which abounded with naval stores should be possessed by a power friendly to Great Britain. In addition, also, to this transfer, it was agreed that Sweden should receive a subsidy of one million; and that the island of Guadaloupe should be ceded to its monarch, who had promised, in return, to open a *dépôt* for British commodities, at Gottenburg and other ports, in defiance of the continental system. This display of advantages did not convince lord Holland of the equity or justice of the measure; for he considered it as a very reprehensible treaty, disgraceful both to Russia and Great Britain: since the czar had no intention of restoring Finland to the Swedes, he was willing, said his lordship, to pacify them by plundering a third power, with which he was not at war; which conduct so resembled the practice of France, that he was disgusted at the gross inconsistency of those courts, which had loudly exclaimed against Napoleon's encroachments. Earl Grey was equally warm in his censures and invectives; but a majority of peers, impressed with the expediency of this measure, gave their approbation to the treaty. In the commons, Mr. Ponsonby took the lead as an opposer of the agreement; and, having assailed it with forcible arguments, he proposed that the regent should be requested to suspend its execution; not only because it violated morality, and the law of nations; but also on account of its impolicy, exhibited in the cession of Guadaloupe, and the unne-

cessary grant of £1,000,000: even Mr. Canning arraigned the conduct of his friends in this negotiation; yet he did not wish the house to adopt Mr. Ponsonby's motion; which he therefore softened by a qualifying amendment: however the majority rejected both, and gratified the regent with a compliant address. The session closed on the twenty-second of July.

CHAP.
LIII.
1812.

CHAPTER LIV.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1813.

Defection of allies from Napoleon—His spirit and resources under this reverse of fortune—His departure from St. Cloud—Line occupied by the belligerents—Battles of Lutzen and Bautzen—Armistice and mediation of Austria—It fails, and Austria joins the allies—Influence of England—Napoleon's position at Dresden—Schwarzenburg attacks the city, and fails—Napoleon's reverses commence—His retreat to Leipsic—Is defeated there, and flies to the Rhine—Dissolution of the Rhenish confederation, &c.—Other states declare themselves free—Declaration of the allies at Frankfort—Rejected by Bonaparte—State of the armies in Spain—Efforts of the guerillas, &c.—Plan of the French campaign—The Douro taken as their base of operations—Joseph leaves Madrid—Affairs on the eastern coast of Spain; siege of Tarragona, &c.—Lord Wellington's advance—Surprise of Villatte's corps at Salamanca—The French army—Attack of its rear-guard at Morales—French retire behind the Carrion—Fall back on Burgos, and finally on Vittoria—Great battle, and defeat of the French, &c.—Joseph flies to Pampeluna, and thence to the Pyrenees—Pampeluna and St. Sebastian invested—Soult sent to take the chief command in Spain—Advances to attack the position of the allies, and is repulsed, and passes the Bidassoa—Suchet's movements—Siege and capture of St. Sebastian—Affairs in Catalonia—Ingratitude of the Spanish government—Campaign in the Pyrenees, from the passage of the Bidassoa to the retreat of the French to Bayonne—American campaign—Naval contest between the Shannon and the Chesapeake.

Defection
from Napo-
leon.

THE first event, abroad, which marked this eventful year, was the defection of the Prussian general D'Yorck; whose convention with the Russian Wittgenstein was not ratified by the king, his master, who was then within the grasp of Bonaparte: but no sooner was he free from danger, and aware that a chance of emancipation existed for himself and

his country, than he expressed a decided approbation of his general's conduct, and soon afterwards joined the emperor Alexander at Breslau: as the season advanced, a Russian envoy was despatched to Vienna; and an armistice concluded: an Austrian ambassador arrived in London; and Sweden, by entering into an advantageous treaty, agreed to strike a decisive blow against the French in Pomerania: alliances also with England were subsequently formed both by Prussia and Russia. In the mean time, the advance of Wittgenstein compelled the French forces to abandon the Oder, on which they had fallen back under Eugene Beauharnois, and to take up the defence of a new frontier on the Elbe: among all the great allies of France, Austria alone preserved a neutrality; but it scarcely could be expected that the court of Vienna, even if it had been inclined to favor the projects of Napoleon, could long resist the general movement in Germany.

CHAP.
LIV.
—
1813.

Though the decline of Bonaparte's power was now evident; though all Europe had become weary of his domination, and those allies, by whose concurrence he had been raised, took part against him; though, at home, the priests had been secretly conspiring against him, since his rupture with the pope; and the mass of the nation began to show itself as weary of his ambitious conquests, as it once was of those odious factions from which he rescued France;—his indomitable spirit still bore him up against all reverses. During the first three months of this year, he strained every nerve to recruit his armies, or rather to create new ones: by a decree of the conservative senate on the tenth of January, 250,000 conscripts more than he had demanded were placed at his disposal; for he found means to impart a portion of his spirit, even to those who were tired of his rule; and he exhibited no slight knowledge of the French character, when he declared in the *Moniteur* of the thirtieth of March, 'that even if the enemy stood on Montmartre, he would not give up a village of the empire:' by the beginning of April, he had procured decrees for levies to the

CHAP.
LIV.
—
1813.

Campaign
in Ger-
many.

amount of 535,000 men: on the fifteenth, he left St. Cloud, Maria Louisa having been declared regent, 'till victory should restore the emperor to his capital.'

Germany was again destined to be the field of battle: the Elbe, from its mouth to the frontiers of Bohemia, formed a line of division between the belligerent powers; and on the other side, three Prussian fortresses, beside Dantzic, were in the hands of the French: Napoleon also exacted their contingents from the princes of his Rhenish confederation; while he retained his faithful ally, the king of Saxony, and gained a willing one in Denmark, disgusted at the prospect of the Norwegian appropriation. Painful as was the situation of towns and places lying between the armies, a still more cruel fate befel Hamburg; which, having opened its gates to the Cossacks in March, was re-occupied by the French in May, and abandoned to Napoleon's revenge under the vigorous administration of the savage and inexorable Davoust. The war of liberation began with the battle of Lutzen, on the second of May, which Bonaparte gained with an army composed chiefly of raw conscripts: still there were no longer the brilliant results of victory; in cannon, standards, and baggage taken: indeed both parties slept on that battle field, where the great christian champion, Gustavus Adolphus, fell in the year 1632: the day of panic was now gone; and the allies made a regular retreat, not a disorderly flight, over the Elbe: the occupation of Dresden was followed by another victory at Bautzen, on the twenty-first of May, which was far from being decisive, although it obliged the allies to evacuate their line of defence, that covered Silesia, and to retire into Bohemia: but their retreat was still orderly; not a cannon or a prisoner being left in possession of the enemy. This victory opened for the French a passage to the Oder: Glogau was relieved, Breslau occupied, and Berlin itself threatened: but an appeal now made to Austria took effect: an armistice had been settled soon after the battle, both parties being exhausted, and expecting reinforcements; during which period, the emperor Francis interposed

his mediation. How visible appears the hand of Providence in the fall of Napoleon! had he been repulsed from Bautzen, before Austria entered into any stipulation with the allies, that power would probably have pressed for nothing beyond the independence of Germany: now to this demand she added the abandonment of the duchy of Warsaw, and of Illyria; the re-establishment of the Prussian monarchy; and the dissolution of the Rhenish confederation. Napoleon could not yield to this; for, elated by his two victories, which were at best but victories without results, over estimating his resources, and consulting only the obstinate pride of his own heart, he considered himself as much entitled to dictate terms and to refuse concessions, at the conclusion of an armistice solicited equally by himself and by his antagonists, as when he stood on the field of Austerlitz. Verily 'pride goeth before destruction, and a haughty spirit before a fall.' The tenor of his answer was even affronting; and on the twelfth of August, Austria, joining the allies, declared war against France: during the armistice, she had concerted a preliminary alliance with Russia and Prussia, which came into operation of itself with the declaration of war. Great Britain also took advantage of this opportunity to put forth her mighty powers, and at the right time: Sweden had been first taken into her pay; in the middle of June she concluded a treaty of subsidies with Russia and Prussia; giving, in addition, her guarantee for paper to the amount of £5,000,000 sterling, under the name of federative money; and in the beginning of October, she signed a treaty of alliance with Austria, stipulating for mutual aid to the utmost limits: her victories also, as well as her purse, came most opportunely to rouse and push to its conclusion that European reaction against France, which otherwise might have languished; for tidings of the great battle of Vittoria arrived, at the very point of time, to strengthen the confidence of German courts and ministers.

Bonaparte's principal officers now advised him to retreat at once to the Rhine; but he had fortified

Losses of
Napoleon.

CHAP.
LIV.
— 1813.

Dresden, as the grand pivot of his operations, and distributed his army in separate corps around it, holding the imperial guard under his own command, as a reserve; and with these he determined to proceed in trying the fortune of war. In fact the tenure of Dresden was precarious and dangerous; but Napoleon relied on his own genius for maintaining it, not so much for any fancied advantages it might afford as a military post, but because he was unwilling to give up the political keystone on which the arch of the Rhenish confederation depended. As soon as the armistice expired, he hastened with his guard, and some divisions, to surprise Blucher; but that general, according to a concerted plan, retreated, and carried with him two Westphalian regiments, who deserted the French ranks: in the mean time, prince Schwartzenburg, a dull Austrian, to whom, in honor of his master, the chief command of all the armies was confided, attacked Dresden; and was on the point of success; when Napoleon returned with his legions, repulsed the enemy from its walls, and in two successive days wholly routed his opponents, taking all their cannon, with 20,000 prisoners, while the rest fled to their Bohemian fastnesses. The French emperor, as if infected with Austrian inertia, neglected to improve this advantage, and returned with careless indifference to Dresden, instead of taking the road to Tœplitz, pioneered even to his own direction by Vandamme; and by which he might have anticipated his discomfited foes debouching into the Bohemian valleys. Fortune therefore, a capricious dame, now seemed to desert him; and his victory was followed by a quick succession of reverses: Vandamme, who had pursued a part of the retreating forces, being taken in front and rear by a Prussian and a Russian army, was obliged to surrender with his whole division: besides, the defensive plan of the allies, said to have been recommended by Bernadotte, now acted with fatal effect on Napoleon: this plan was, to retreat from him, but always to make head against his lieutenants. Thus Blucher, that aged man with a youthful spirit, defeated Macdonald on the twenty-

sixth of August, and almost annihilated his army at the Katzbach; a day in which the rain fell down in such torrents that flint and gunpowder were totally useless; and it came literally to a murderous grapple of man with man: 'thus,' says one of those master spirits of song that rose at this period,

CHAP.
LIV.

1813.

'Thus 'twas fought by German *people*,
Not by bondsmen, not by princes:
God, to right the wrongs of ages,
Measures not revenge by inches.'

Oudinot, sent against Berlin, as the minister of Napoleon's vengeance, had been just before defeated by Bulow at Gross Beeren; and the gallant Ney, despatched to repair this loss, could not master fortune: he was routed by the same commander in the battle of Dennewitz, where his Saxon regiments deserted him during the heat of the conflict; and it became evident that no auxiliaries could be depended on by the French, who could march against no German capital without trampling on the dead bodies of its native defenders. In the mean time, Napoleon's generals became dispirited; and, contrary to their master's inclination, counselled retreat: the allied force daily increased, while his own diminished; Bavaria was obliged to declare against him; and Leipsic was menaced in his rear: so that in the early part of October he was forced to transfer his head quarters to that city, leaving marshal St. Cyr in command at Dresden. The memorable battle, of three days' duration, which decided Napoleon's fate, took place on the sixteenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth of October: during the seventeenth there was a truce; but on the evening of that day, the four armies of the allies formed a junction; presenting, with their reserves, a force of 300,000 men, opposed to about 170,000: the military annals of the world afford no parallel to such a meeting; where Napoleon the Great, posted himself with his face to the foe and his back to the city walls, determined like a brave man to yield only to the stroke of fate. On the eighteenth, a grand attack was made upon the French;

CHAP.
LIV.

1813.

and after nine hours of hard fighting, the battle was decided: on the nineteenth, Leipsic was taken by assault; the Saxon king was made prisoner; and Bonaparte fled with his routed army to the Rhine, pursued by Blucher: but skilfully and terribly as his genius could direct itself in advance or attack, he could not anticipate and prepare for a retreat: from Leipsic now, as before from Moscow, and afterwards from Waterloo, he was precipitated with a ruin which scarcely required pursuit to make it sure: he fell like an edifice which has been erected upon an artificial foundation; and deeply instructive is the history of his fall. On his way toward the river he was attacked by the Bavarians, under Wrede; but a charge made by the remnant of the old guard sufficed to punish this ingratitude; and he carried about 70,000 men into Mayence, to fill the hospitals of that ancient city.

Invasion of
France by
the allies.

The princes of Germany, and with them its people, now threw off the yoke of Rhenish confederation; and the war decidedly took a popular character: men, and even women, rose up in arms for the liberation of their father-land; the very spirit of Hermann seemed awakened; and the day of humiliation yielded to the day of glory. As the revolutionary tide flowed back, monarchs began to mark and claim their properties: Hanover and Brunswick resumed their ancient allegiance; Holland recalled its former dynasty; and William of Orange was now saluted king of the Netherlands: Bernadotte in the north, and Murat in the south, only held their kingdoms by joining the allies against Napoleon; who himself set free the pope and Ferdinand of Spain, to re-establish governments in their respective countries which demons might rejoice to imitate: thus fell the exterior defences of a mighty empire, built up on false principles, and pushed beyond due geographical limits. In the mean time, the allies declared, at Frankfort, 'that they contended not against France, but against the authority exercised by Napoleon beyond the boundaries of his empire: they wished to see France great, powerful, and happy, as one of the corner-stones of the social sys-

tem; they would permit her to retain a territory greater than she had ever possessed under her kings; a territory bounded by the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees—the independence of Germany and that of the Spanish peninsula being conceded on his part; whilst Austria should have a frontier in Italy, and Holland one in the Netherlands, both to be made matters of future discussion; and that England was willing to make great sacrifices for peace on such foundations, acknowledging that freedom of commerce to which France had a right to pretend: but they too wished to be quiet and happy: they desired a state of peace, with a just balance and distribution of power, to protect them from the misery which they had experienced during twenty years; and until this object was attained, they would not lay aside their arms.’ Nothing could appear more just and elevated than these sentiments; nothing more reasonable than a limit set to that system of universal dominion which France had been taught to expect; and it has generally been thought that these terms were indignantly rejected by Napoleon whose heart Providence had hardened like that of Pharaoh; but some who have investigated the subject more deeply, especially that acute historian colonel Napier, assure us that the whole was a snare of Metternich, and that the mention of England, who declared against her maritime rights being made a subject of discussion, was introduced for the very purpose of breaking off negotiations;¹ to which Napoleon was the more inclined, because the idea never forsook him, that his imperial father-in-law would at all events preserve him on the throne. Thus after offers which were always made while the allied troops were advancing, Napoleon decreed a fresh levy of 300,000 conscripts, which was considered an aggression that cut him off from

¹ When by this subtlety (says colonel Napier) they had rendered peace impossible, they proclaimed that Napoleon alone resisted the desire of the world for tranquillity: and at this very moment Austria was secretly endeavoring to obtain England’s consent to her seizing on Alsace; a project which was stopped by lord Wellington, who forcibly pointed out the danger of rousing France to a general insurrection by such a proceeding.—vol. vi. p. 454.

CHAP.
LIV.
1813.

farther negotiations; the bubble burst; and the contest recommenced. But while these opposite parties had been deliberating about boundaries, the most skilful and persevering of Napoleon's antagonists had already passed them; Wellington with his British army and peninsular allies, stood on the 'sacred territory' of France: his progress thither, in a series of brilliant successes, remains to be described.

State of
the armies
in Spain.

While the period of inactivity had been employed by this great commander in restoring the health, discipline, and numbers of his army, the forces of his antagonists were cut up by guerilla parties, especially those under Longa in the north, and Mina in Arragon and Navarre, materially assisted by supplies from British vessels on the coast: so formidable had these chiefs now become, that Clausel himself advanced with a large body of troops to hunt down Mina; but in this attempt, his own men suffered more than their hardy opponents, who were intimately acquainted with the country, and accustomed to the hair-breadth escapes of such campaigns. On the side of Biscay, the French were more successful; for they surprised and captured general Renovales, with six of his officers, at Carvajales de Zamora; while Foy, after a siege of eighteen days, took Castro de Urdiales, from which Cafarelli had been repulsed. As an example of the cruel manner in which the cities of Spain were treated by their invaders, the following description of this siege is extracted from the work of one of our ablest writers:—'The governor, Don Pedro Pablo Alvares, discharged his duty to the utmost; and the *Lyra*, Royalist, and Sparrow sloops of war, with the *Alpheia* schooner, under captain Bloye, assisted in the defence. Foy brought all the force he could collect against it, and proceeded, as if he hoped to strike the province as well as the garrison with terror; for he offered no terms, and seemed determined to take the place by storm, let it cost what it would. When he had made a breach wide enough to admit twenty men abreast, he turned his guns on the town and castle, and threw shells incessantly at the bridge that connected the

castle with the landing-place; hoping thus to cut off the retreat of the garrison, which at the commencement of the siege consisted of 1200 men: at noon, the enemy entered in great numbers through the breach, and by escalade in various parts: the garrison, when they could no longer defend the town, retreated into the castle: the ships' boats were in readiness to receive them, and they were embarked by companies, under a tremendous fire of musketry; two companies remaining to defend the castle till the last gun was thrown into the sea: every soldier was brought off, with many of the inhabitants, and landed at Bermeo on the following day: the town was burnt. Foy indeed acted in the spirit of his Portuguese campaign: as he had offered no terms, he showed no mercy, but when the town was entered, put its defenders to the bayonet without distinction: it had been well if the wickedness of the enemy had ended there; but in one of their unsuccessful attacks many of their men had been pushed down a ravine by their fellows, while pressing forward to the charge; the bridge by which they expected to cross having been destroyed by the English; and because the inhabitants had not informed them of the destruction of this bridge, they butchered men and women, sparing none, and inflicting on them cruelties, which nothing but a devilish nature could devise.²

Few attempts were made on the enemy's part to annoy our allied army during the winter and spring, though great activity was shown in plundering the inhabitants; this kind of war being carried on in so shameless a manner, that the king, it is said, was obliged to call one of his generals to account. The plan adopted by Joseph's council at Madrid, for the ensuing campaign, was to take the Douro as a line of defence, contrary to the opinion of Clausel, who thought that they had committed an error, in not concentrating their forces more on the Ebro: accordingly, works were thrown up on the right bank of the deep and rapid Douro, at every assailable point. Soult had been

CHAP.
LIV.
1813.

² Southey's History of the Peninsular War, vol. iii.

CHAP.
LIV.—
1813.

called away in March; and the veterans which he carried with him to the German campaign were but ill exchanged for new conscripts, sent to gain experience in the peninsular warfare; neither was the loss of that great general himself compensated by the abilities of marshal Jourdan, who acted as major-general to the king: in the mean time, the intrusive monarch quitted his capital, to which he was never to return, and removed his head-quarters to Valladolid. On the eleventh of April, general Hugo, who had been left in command at Madrid, issued orders for the troops to follow; when the most precious articles in its cabinet of natural history were sent off, and whatever else could be conveniently moved from the public establishments; whilst all arrears of contribution were exacted with the utmost rigor: it is said, that a sufficient number of beasts were not left in the capital for the scavengers; so that its inhabitants were ordered to collect the sweepings of streets into the squares, and there burn what used to be carried into the country for manure.³ We must now take a brief view of proceedings on the eastern coast of Spain.

In the November of the preceding year, sir William Clinton arrived at Alicante to supersede general Maitland, whose health compelled him to retire; and notwithstanding the ill-timed and ill-founded jealousy of Spaniards, he succeeded in obtaining possession of the castle, and garrisoning it with our troops. In December, a reinforcement of 4000 men were sent from Sicily under general James Campbell, who took the command till lord William Bentinck should arrive from Palermo: that diplomatic general however was detained so long at the Sicilian capital, by the necessity of removing its infamous queen from the scene of her intrigues, and by fruitless attempts to establish a representative constitution before any improvement had been effected in the people, that no end could be seen to this delay; and sir John Murray was sent from England, to command the allied force in that part of Spain: this officer however was unfortunately

³ Southey, vol. iii. p. 607.

no match for Suchet, one of the most active and enterprising of all Bonaparte's generals; though the first action in which they engaged, at Castella, on the thirteenth of April, turned out favorably to the British; chiefly through the splendid exertions of colonel Reeves: but the commander-in-chief neglected to follow up his success; and from that moment, Victory, offended, as it were, at the rejection of her advances, deserted his banners; operations however were still carried on; and even the retention of a position in the country, with the consequent occupation of Suchet's troops, favored the advance of lord Wellington's army: to prevent the necessity of recurring to future movements of this motley force, which was designated in ridicule at head-quarters by the name of 'Noah's ark,' it may be advisable to anticipate its operations. On the thirty-first of May, sir John Murray, leaving a garrison at Alicante, embarked the rest of his army on board the English fleet, cruising off that station; and on the third of June invested Tarragona: having possessed himself of Fort St. Phillipa, on the Col de Balguer, which blocks the direct road to Tortosa, he advanced his batteries against the place; when Suchet, who had recently been created duke of Albufera, marched from Valencia with a large force to its relief: without waiting however for any certain tidings of the enemy's approach, or information of his actual strength, sir John determined to avoid the conflict by a timely retreat; in hurried confusion therefore he embarked his troops, and left his cannon in battery, though admiral Hallowell counselled him to remain till night, and engaged, with the assistance of his ships and marines, to carry all safely off. This conduct was subjected to much censure and ridicule abroad; but, when investigated by a military tribunal in England, was attributed solely to an error of judgment: the command however was now given to lord William Bentinck; who also failed before Tarragona, though without any loss of national honor. When the victorious advance of Wellington rendered a concentration of French armies necessary on the frontier,

CHAP.
LIV.
1813.

Suchet abandoned the place, after blowing up its walls, and retired toward the Pyrenees; though not without some sharp actions with the Catalonian forces.

About this time, however, a plot existed, much more dangerous to Spanish independence, than the weakness of their generals and the disasters of their campaigns. The French emperor's vast designs against Germany 'stayed the peninsular cause,' as colonel Napier observes, 'on the very brink of a precipice; for it appears that early in 1813, the ever factious Conde de Montijo, then a general in Elio's army, had secretly made proposals to pass over, with the forces under his command, to the king; and soon afterwards the whole army of Del Parque, having advanced into La Mancha, made offers of the same nature. They were actually in negotiation with Joseph, when the emperor's orders obliged the French army to abandon Madrid, and take up the line of the Douro: then the Spaniards, advertised of the French weakness, feared to continue their negotiations; Wellington soon after advanced; and as this feeling in favor of the intrusive monarch was not general, resistance to the invaders revived with the successes of the British general: but if, instead of diminishing his forces, Napoleon, victorious in Russia, had strengthened them, this defection would certainly have taken place, and would probably have been followed by others; the king, at the head of a Spanish army, would have reconquered Andalusia; Wellington would have been confined to the defence of Portugal, and it is scarcely to be supposed that England would have purchased the independence of that country with her own permanent ruin.'⁴

Advance of
lord Wel-
lington.

On the sixteenth of May, Wellington, after having, by an appeal to their patriotism, appeased the exasperated feelings of his Portuguese troops, from whom a year's pay was kept back by their infamous government, put his grand army in motion; the British under his command amounting to 48,000 effective men; the Portuguese to about 28,000; and the Gallician to 18,000: the enemy were not inferior in number; and

⁴ Vol. v. p. 407.

could rely more confidently on the whole of their troops; but the change in the emperor's fortunes and their own had been such, that they looked only to a defensive campaign, and relied on their strong position along the Douro. The right of the allies under sir Rowland Hill, marched by the route of Alba de Tormes on Salamanca; the centre, under lord Wellington in person, took a more direct road to the same city; while the left, under sir Thomas Graham, crossed the Lamego by boats, prepared for that purpose: in this advance, our men were enabled to trace the line of their retreat last year, by the skeletons of the poor animals which had been worked to death in that dreadful service. A division of infantry under general Villatte had been left in Salamanca, with a corps of artillery and three squadrons of horse: on these the allies came so rapidly, that they had scarcely time to effect a retreat; they were however pursued vigorously by the horse artillery, and an attack of cavalry was made on them at Aldea Lengua, where they gave proofs of great intrepidity; throwing themselves into hollow squares, and repelling every charge, though more than 100 men fell dead in the ranks from heat and fatigue; the pursuit ended at Aldea Rubia, where our troops were recalled, leaving about fourscore of the enemy slain at that place, and carrying off 200 prisoners, with Villatte's coach, as well as seven guns and a quantity of ammunition.

On the twenty-ninth, lord Wellington left Salamanca, and reached Miranda de Duero; the enemy having destroyed all the bridges on the river except that at Zamora. 'Opposite Miranda,' says Mr. Southey, 'there is a ferry, where the deep and rapid stream is from eighty to one hundred yards wide, and the rocks on either side about 500 feet in height: when it is so swollen that the ferry is impracticable, the only way by which travellers can cross, is after the old Peruvian manner, in a sort of hammock or cradle, fastened to a rope, secured on two projecting points of rock, about thirty feet above the ordinary level of the water:' here Wellington crossed, and next day joined

CHAP. Graham's corps at Carvajales on the Ezla, which river
LIV. — our troops began to ford on the thirty-first: in this
1813. operation several valuable lives were lost; for the ford
was chin-deep; and the infantry being ordered to hold
by the stirrups of the cavalry, the horses became
restive; so that many lost their footing, and were
rolled down by the force of the current: after this
accident, a pontoon bridge, which should have been
thought of before, was thrown over the stream.

The French army, now comprehending the plan of
our general, and menaced by his advancing columns,
hastily destroyed the bridge of Zamora, and evacuated
that city, as well as Toro: near to this latter place,
the hussar brigade, under colonel Grant, came up with
a rear-guard of cavalry, which retired rapidly to the
village of Morales, behind which they formed: yielding
however to the impetuosity of the British, they retired
to a small bridge across a marshy bottom; where,
being supported by some guns belonging to their
infantry, they stood a charge, and were worsted in it,
but contrived to pass the bridge; when captain Lloyd,
of the tenth hussars, hastily following with a small
number of his men, was taken prisoner: but the
French lost, in these affairs, a large number of
killed, wounded, and captives; while their sixteenth
regiment was almost annihilated: captain Lloyd is
said to have been ill-treated by his captors, who beat
and rifled him; but left him in their retreat. 'Though
the fighting,' says Southey, 'was almost in the
street of Morales, the Spaniards were now so ac-
customed to sights of war, that within ten minutes
after the firing had ceased, women were spinning at
their doors, and little children at play, as if nothing had
happened.' Lord Wellington halted at Toro, that the
light troops, under Hill, might cross the Douro by its
bridge; that his rear might come up; and that the
Gallician forces might join his left wing: when he
advanced again, on the third of June, the French,
whose force was distributed between Valladolid, Tor-
desillas, and Medina, retired before him, made a show
of concentration behind the Pisergua, but again with-

drew behind the Carrion: the allied army crossed that river on the seventh; and on the twelfth, Wellington found it necessary to halt and refresh his troops after long and fatiguing marches. Joseph was now falling back on Burgos, the castle of which place had been greatly strengthened: a slight show of opposition was made on the heights of Hormaza; but the enemy soon retreated on the city, after suffering a considerable loss from our horse-artillery, and leaving one gun, with some prisoners, in the hands of their opponents: this was in the evening; and the allies fully expected that a battle would take place next morning; but Joseph had miscalculated the number of his foes; the divisions of Clausel and Foy were unable to arrive in time; a report from Jourdan assured him, that the castle of Burgos was untenable from want of magazines and from unfinished works; while numerous *partidas*, under ferocious leaders, were gathering around him, cutting off stragglers and intercepting supplies: in the night therefore the French retreated, from a strong position near the suburbs, into the city; and then hurrying also from its walls, they blew up the castle, about an hour after the king had left it: apparently aware that their ascendancy in the country was gone, they wished to bring upon the wretched inhabitants a calamity that might prevent any joy at their deliverance; but these malignant intentions were in a great measure frustrated by defective arrangements; while part of the evil fell on the heads of its contrivers. 'Many of their men, lingering to plunder, perished as they were loading their horses with booty in the streets and squares;' and three or four hundred of a column defiling under the castle walls, were destroyed by a shower of its fragments. 'Above 1000 shells had been placed in the mines; the explosion was distinctly heard at the distance of fifty miles; and the pavement of the cathedral was covered with dust, into which its windows had been shivered by the shock. The town, with the exception of the nearest streets, escaped destruction, owing to the failure of several mines; but the castle

CHAP.
LIV.
1813.

was nearly destroyed; gates, beams, masses of masonry, guns, carriages, and arms lying in one heap of ruins: some of the mines had laid open the breaches, and exposed the remains of those who had fallen during the siege.⁵

King Joseph now continued his retreat toward Vittoria, his object at this period being to prevent Wellington from crossing the Ebro; to effect which, he hastily passed that river, and took up a strong position on its left bank; strengthening at the same time the castle of Pancorbo, to check an advance of the allies along the great road through Berbiesca to Miranda: the British general however was aware of these movements, and instead of following the enemy in that direction, suddenly changed his route, and moved his left wing higher up the river, over a rough country; when, placing himself between the sources of the Ebro and the great mountains of Reynosa, he cut the French intirely off from the sea coast; and obliged them to evacuate the ports: English vessels then entered Sant Andero; where a depôt and hospital were established, and the connection of the British forces with Portugal was totally severed. 'That country (says colonel Napier) was now cast off by the army, as a heavy tender is cast from its towing rope; all the British military establishments being broken up and transferred by sea to the coast of Biscay:' the rapid movement of this corps, which passed the Ebro on the fourteenth, so disconcerted Joseph's plans, that he retired speedily toward Vittoria, and left the passage of the river free; his army however was so quickly pursued, that it soon became evident both to himself and Jourdan, that a battle must take place: indeed, they were surrounded with difficulties, and defeat itself could hardly be more disastrous than a retreat into France: so, being convinced that decision was necessary, they took up a position in front of Vittoria: their left rested on some heights terminating at the Puebla de Arlanza, with a reserve in its rear; their centre extended along a strong range of heights on the left bank of the Zadorra,

⁵ Southey, vol. iii. p. 623.

resting to the right on a circular hill covered with infantry, and defended with several brigades of artillery; while their right was placed in advance of the river, above the village of Abecheneo, to defend the passage. This position, eight miles in extent, covered the three great roads, which converge on Vittoria from Bilboa, Longroño, and Madrid; also crossing the main road to Bayonne: within sight of it was fought the battle of Najara; where, as Mr. Southey observes, 'Edward the Black Prince, acting as the ally of a bad man, defeated the best troops of France under their most distinguished leader Bertram de Guesclin, who was come in support of a worse:' lord Wellington and Jourdan were not quite in parallel circumstances; for indubitably his lordship was an ally of the worse man, though he fought in the better cause. On the nineteenth, the French rear-guard, strongly posted on some heights near Pobes, was driven back on the main body by the British light and fourth divisions; and on the twentieth Wellington collected his troops, and made his dispositions for battle. His centre was occupied by the third, fourth, seventh, and light divisions, in two lines; his right, where Hill commanded, by the second, by a Portuguese division, and a Spanish corps; his left, under Graham, by the first and fifth divisions, Pack and Bradford's brigades of infantry, and a Spanish division under Longa, with Bock and Anson's brigades of cavalry. As daylight broke on the twenty-first, the lines were formed; and the men were burning with impatience to attack a foe, whose continual flight had begun to inspire them with contempt.

The Spaniards, under Morillo, commenced the action by gallantly attacking the heights of Arlanzon, on the left of the French position; but the enemy stood firm, making great exertions to maintain their ground; though they found that they had not occupied it with sufficient strength, and were obliged to detach forces from their centre: sir Rowland Hill, therefore, finding it necessary to send considerable reinforcements also on his side, the contest became severe and the losses considerable: Morillo was wounded, but would

Battle of
Vittoria.

CHAP.
LIV.
1813.

not quit the field; and colonel Cadogan, an officer of high promise, who had led the British succors, fell honorably on the field of battle: at length, the French were driven from their heights at the point of the bayonet; and under cover of this ground, sir Rowland crossed the Zadorra at Puebla, passed a difficult defile about two miles in length, and attacked with success the village of Sabijana, which covered the left of the enemy's line. Though they made repeated attempts, with large reinforcements from the centre, to recover this village, all were made in vain.

Natural difficulties of the country necessarily delayed communication between different columns; so that, during this struggle on the right, the centre was inactive: it is said that Picton became impatient, and inquired of several aides-de-camp whether they brought any orders; for he had the utmost difficulty in restraining the ardor of his men. As the day wore on, it is reported that he became furious,⁶ asking if lord Wellington had forgotten them: the men also were becoming very discontented; when an aide-de-camp came riding up at speed; and, having checked his horse, demanded of the general if he had seen lord Dalhousie. 'No, sir,' was the reply: 'but have you any orders for me?'—'None at all,' replied the messenger. 'Then, pray, sir,' continued the irritated general, 'what orders do you bring?'—'That as soon as lord Dalhousie, with the seventh division, shall commence an attack on that bridge to the left, the fourth and sixth are to support him.' As Picton could not understand the idea of any other division fighting in his front, he replied to the astonished officer,—'You may tell lord Wellington from me, sir, that the third division, under my command, shall, in less than ten minutes, attack that bridge and carry it; when the fourth and sixth may support us if they choose.'⁷ Picton knew his men when he made this boast: the fighting division under his command had never yet been repulsed; so, turning to them with those bland expressions which would have led them against a legion of infernals—'Come

⁶ Life of Picton, vol. ii. p. 195.

⁷ Ibid. p. 196.

on, you rascals; come on, you fighting villains'—he put himself at their head.⁸

CHAP.
LIV.

1813.

As the division advanced, it was met by a heavy fire of artillery; but it moved steadily on, till the leading columns rushed over the bridge, and formed in open column; when they moved by their left, so as to attack the intire centre of the enemy: still advancing in the same order, they pressed up the heights, where they quickly deployed into line; and the enemy, panic-struck, scarcely awaited their attack. Picton had now gained the heights; but the divisions on his right had not made sufficient progress to cover his flank, and he kept back his men; but the seventh, and part of the light division, with the fourth under Cole, soon arrived to cover his advance. During this time, the enemy made several strenuous efforts to dislodge him, bringing more than forty pieces of cannon to bear on his position; while dense masses of infantry pushed forward on all parts of his line, in spite of the destruction caused in their ranks by its incessant fire. At length, he gave the word, 'to charge;' and the result was certain: nothing could resist men so resolute, and so led: they bore down all opposition, spreading consternation and death through all opposing ranks. As the other two divisions ascended the heights, each took up its position in the line laid down; the third still keeping the enemy's centre in its front: and now the whole advanced in line against the French, who had taken up fresh ground in rear of the heights: the ardor of the third again brought them first into contact with the enemy: the uneven and broken ground in front for a time rendered their progress difficult; but after exposure to an irritating fire, they quickly ran to the charge; and the flight of their adversaries was so precipitate, that they left twenty-eight pieces of artillery behind them.

The seventh division met with a severe check at the village of Gomecha, where an adjoining wood was

⁸ The higher authority, however, of colonel Napier credits the commander-in-chief with this forward move of Picton's division, though he gives due praise to the gallantry displayed both by the leader and his men.

CHAP.
LIV.
1813.

filled with French troops; but a part of the light division came to its support, while Picton still pressed the enemy's centre, till they abandoned their ground, and fell back upon Vittoria: when Hill was made acquainted with this success, he renewed his efforts against their left wing; and, after some spirited fighting, succeeded in forcing their position, and driving them back in disorder.

The British left, under Graham, had not been so completely successful: coming up, at the onset, with the right of the French army, posted in two villages, and on some intervening heights, they instantly attacked, and after a determined resistance and much slaughter, drove it from its position. In rear of these villages were two bridges over the Zadorra, whence there was but a short distance to Vittoria; so that, had the left wing been successful in effecting a passage here, the French army probably must have surrendered; since the retreat to Bayonne was already cut off by Longa's Spanish division: but the importance of this post was known to marshal Jourdan; and some of his choicest troops were drawn from the centre to defend it; so that sir T. Graham was obliged to wait for the farther successes of our centre and right. The battle now presented a grand spectacle, as our three central divisions moved forward in line, and the enemy retreated gradually before them, fighting: this retrograde movement, however, became more rapid after every charge of the British, until a stand was made about a mile from the city: one hundred pieces of artillery then opened with destructive fire on the pursuers; and it might have been supposed that the day was still to be won: but the moral force of each army was totally dissimilar; the French were fighting on retreat, without confidence in their leaders; the allies were flushed with conquest, and never thought of defeat when led by Wellington. Night was now approaching, and a decisive blow was desirable: the British divisions paused for a few moments to close up their ranks, and then advanced in serried line, opposed to an incessant storm of shot; but the enemy could not stand their

shock, and the day was won. Never, says colonel Napier, was a defeated army more hardly used by its commander; for the soldiers were not half beaten, and yet never was a victory more complete.

CHAP.
LIV.
1813.

A total rout now ensued, and an organised army became a wild and affrighted mob: the allies pressed hard on their rear; when Joseph himself with difficulty escaped out of the city, by quitting his carriage, and mounting a horse: our tenth hussars however were compensated by a rich booty found in his calash, consisting of all the portable treasures of his regalia. When a retreat was ordered, it proved that the movement of carriages on the Pampeluna road was impracticable from the interposition of marshy ground; so that the confusion became indescribable: all the French artillery of reserve, ammunition, and baggage waggons, the military chest, equipages, and treasure of the king, were taken: 'the spoils,' says Southey, 'resembled those of an oriental, rather than of an European army; for the intruder, who, in his miserable situation, had abandoned himself to every kind of sensuality, had with him all his luxuries: his plunder, wardrobe, sideboard, larder, and cellar, all fell into the hands of his conquerors: the French officers had followed his example; and thus the finest wines and choicest delicacies were found in profusion: the wives and mistresses also of these men had collected together in one house, where they were safe, and were sent with a flag of truce to Pampeluna; poodles, parrots, and monkeys being among the prisoners.' Part of the victorious army, according to the same authority, assumed the appearance of a masquerade; Portuguese boys figuring in the dress-coats of French generals; while those who happened to draw a woman's wardrobe in the lottery, covered themselves with silks, satins, and embroidered muslins: some of the more fortunate soldiers got possession of the military chest, and loaded themselves with money. 'Let them have it,' said lord Wellington, when informed of the affair; 'they deserve all they can find, were it ten times as much.' Among the other trophies of this field, was the baton of marshal Jour-

Results of
the victory.

CHAP.
LIV.
1813.

dan, taken by the eighty-ninth regiment; and the British general sent it with his despatches to the regent; by whom a very handsome letter was returned, together with the baton of an English field-marshal: 'the British army,' said the writer, 'will hail it with enthusiasm; while the whole universe will acknowledge those valorous efforts which have so imperiously called for it.' This splendid victory excited throughout England enthusiastic joy: it was celebrated by general illuminations, and a grand national festival in Vauxhall gardens, where a multitude of our most distinguished characters, with foreign ambassadors, and others, partook of a splendid dinner; and in the evening the place was crowded with ladies introduced by the stewards: mean time, the victorious Wellington was fighting his way to the French frontier.

General Clausel, with about 14,000 men, had commenced his march to support the king; but now, changing his direction, he turned toward Logroño; and being pursued, retired on Saragossa, with the guerilla forces of Mina and Sanchez hanging on his rear. General Foy also, who found himself in considerable danger, retreated with several garrisons toward France, by way of Toloso; and being also joined by many of the French troops discomfited at Vittoria, made head against Graham who pursued him, and passed the Bidassoa. As for Joseph, he hardly looked back before he had reached the walls of Pampeluna: but the garrison would not admit his flying soldiers; who, in attempting to force their army over its walls, were driven off by the fire of their own countrymen; they continued their flight therefore to the fastnesses of the Pyrenees: provisions however were thrown into Pampeluna, which fortress was expected by its great strength to check the advance of the allies: its blockade was committed to an army of 10,000 Spaniards under the conde de Bisbal; while sir Thomas Graham was directed to invest the fortress of St. Sebastian with the first and fifth divisions: but another struggle was about to be made by Napoleon to retrieve his declining fortunes: his victories at Lutzen and

Bautzen, in some degree restored the balance of his power, and the negotiations which followed them had an effect on the peninsular war. Wellington's first intention, says colonel Napier, was to reduce Pampe-luna by force; but Portugal had been relinquished as a place of arms; a new base of operations, therefore, was required, lest a change of fortune should force the allies to return thither, when all their great military establishments were broken up; when the opposition of the native government to British influence was become rancorous, and the public sentiment quite averse to British supremacy. The Western Pyrenees offered such a base: yet their harbors were few, and a convenient one near the positions of our army was required: St. Sebastian was such an one, and our commander was anxious to obtain it before negotiations for a German armistice could be concluded.

The disastrous intelligence of the French defeat at Vittoria fell on Napoleon, in his Saxon campaign, like a thunderbolt; for he saw, that while he was fighting drawn battles beyond the Rhine, Wellington was marching forward to force the Pyrenees: retreat however in presence of the Russian and Prussian armies was ruin: he attempted therefore to negotiate; while he sent his best general, the duke of Dalmatia, to take the command in Spain, with supreme power, as lieutenant of the emperor. When Soult arrived at Bayonne on the twelfth of July, he superseded both Jourdan and Joseph; but the army was now little more than a skeleton: still this able and active general contrived by great exertions to concentrate the scattered soldiers; who, feeling confidence in such a commander, freely rallied round his standard: artillery was forwarded with incredible celerity toward the frontier; and within a month from the signal defeat at Vittoria, the French army amounted to more than 80,000 men. A change was now about to take place in the character of the contest; the allies having to attack and defend a series of mountain defiles, where cavalry could not act, and in positions to which artillery could not be brought; and this, against troops,

CHAP.
LIV.1813.
Repulse
of Soult.

whose lightness, activity, and general habits, peculiarly fitted them for such a species of warfare.

Soult, having put Bayonne into a state of defence, and divided his army into three corps, under generals Reille, d'Erlon, and Clausel, resumed the offensive on the twenty-fourth of July; when he recrossed the frontier, and directed his movements to relieve St. Sebastian and Pampeluna. To meet his advance, the allied army was placed in a position occupying all the Pyrenean defiles between those two fortresses; and the famous pass of Roncesvalles was again held by Spanish soldiers, under the ferocious Morillo, supported by a brigade of the second British division under general Byng. It was this pass which Soult endeavored to force on the twenty-fifth, at the head of 35,000 men, while sir Rowland Hill was severely pressed at that of Maya by superior numbers under Drouet; and at the same time, a large body of the enemy manœuvred on Byng's left, along the ridge of Arola, occupied by the fourth division, under Cole: the situation of the allies was at this moment very critical; for had one of these passes been gained, the security of their position would have been lost; and Soult would have rushed with his legions into the very heart of Spain: Wellington was absent at St. Sebastian, not expecting this sudden attack; and the pressure was so great on the British divisions, that all were obliged to give way, and seek for more secure positions; when Picton put his reserve in motion, and marched to support Cole's fourth division, taking the command as senior officer, and making dispositions to receive the foe. By daybreak on the twenty-sixth, Soult renewed the attack; when, his superior numbers rendering resistance hopeless, Picton fell back, and occupied the heights of Zubiri, counteracting every attempt of the advancing enemy to throw his troops into confusion; but though checked for a time, Soult was able to force his adversary back on the villages of Huerta and Villalba. A strong position between the rivers Arga and Lanz would enable him to cover the blockade of Pampeluna; the garrison of which had just made a sally, which

induced O'Donnel to spike some of his guns and destroy his magazine, and which would probably have led to ill-consequences, if Carlos d'España had not opportunely arrived with his division to check the enemy: a movement for this object took place in the night of the twenty-sixth; and just as dispositions had been made to receive the French, lord Wellington arrived: Picton immediately acquainted him with his proceedings and arrangements, which the British field-marshal intirely approved; nor did he consider it necessary to make any alteration,¹⁰ as he had already, in his journey from the left, issued orders for other corps to move to the point of conflict: but the resounding cheers with which he was received by the troops, not only within hearing of Soult, but so near to that warrior that his features could be discerned by his great antagonist, had the effect of putting off all attacks that day, and thus gave time for the British reinforcements to come up. Early on the twenty-eighth the sixth division under Pack arrived, and had scarcely taken a situation on some heights to the left of the fourth, when a fierce assault on this very point was made by a large force, which was received with so destructive a fire in front and flank, that it retired; and the assault was then directed against a height occupied by the left of our fourth division, and defended by a Portuguese regiment of caçadores: the impetuosity of the enemy's troops gained them possession of the hill; but a spirited charge by general Ross's brigade made it a brief tenure.

The firing then opened along the whole line, while the French advanced with loud cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* and an apparent determination to conquer; but they were young conscripts, unequal to a conflict with Wellington's veterans, who had driven the old soldiers of the empire out of the peninsula: these now, in their pride of strength and confidence, waited until the French were within a few yards of their bayonets: a deadly volley was then poured into the advancing column; a charge followed; and the enemy were

¹⁰ Life of Picton, vol. ii. p. 221.

CHAP.
LIV.
—
1813.

driven headlong down the heights, leaving the ground strewn with dead and dying men.

Next day the allies were reinforced by our seventh division, under lord Dalhousie, which secured the connection of their left with Hill; when Soult moved his main body by its right, so as to unite his forces with those of Drouet; endeavoring to mask his intentions by keeping a strong force in front of Wellington's centre. His object was to open a communication between Tolosa and Pampeluna; which would enable him to attack our left; and, if successful, to relieve St. Sebastian, or oblige the British to fight on ground of his selection: but Wellington, though he now had to contend with a master in the art of war, was not overmatched: at once penetrating the designs of his antagonist, and adopting means for defeating them, he resolved to dislodge him from his position in front; to effect which, Picton was directed to cross the ridge which the French troops had abandoned, and to turn their left flank by the Roncesvalles road; while lord Dalhousie, with the seventh division, should scale a mountain opposite the left of the fourth, and turn their right. Both these movements were eminently successful: the centre of the allied forces then pushed forward in a firm, irresistible phalanx; and the enemy abandoned a position, which lord Wellington described 'as one of the strongest and most difficult of access that he had ever seen occupied by troops.'

Soult now commenced a retreat, closely followed by his adversaries; but conducting it in a manner corresponding with his great character for military talent. Extricating his army by the pass of Donna Maria, he there attempted to check the allies; but lord Dalhousie and Hill, ascending the mountains on each side, compelled him to continue his retreat hastily across the Bidassoa: he did not, however, pass that river without a severe contest and great loss: nor was it among the least galling circumstances of this his retreat, that the Spanish troops several times charged his columns with the bayonet, broke them, and drove them precipitately across the stream: the French, like the soldiers of

Pyrrhus, had at length taught their despised foes to conquer them. CHAP. LIV

1813.

The battle of Vittoria delivered the province of Valencia, as that of Salamanca had freed Andalusia, from the French yoke. Suchet, leaving 1200 men and stores for twelve months in Murviedro, as well as garrisons in Peniscola and other fortresses, retired on Arragon, hoping to effect a junction with Clausel, who was near Saragossa with 14,000 men: this was what Wellington apprehended; and this was an additional obstacle to an immediate attack on Pampeluna: Clausel, however, without informing Suchet of his movements, retired into France, by way of Jaca; from a desire, as the Spaniards gave out, of securing the riches which he had amassed. Saragossa then fell to the Spanish chiefs who assembled round its walls: Suchet, in advancing to its relief, drew off as many garrisons as he could; and, after a vain attempt to maintain the line of the Lower Ebro, determined to move on Taragona.

When Arragon was thus delivered from its foes, the blockade of Pampeluna could be safely left to Spaniards, while Graham carried 10,000 troops to the siege of St. Sebastian. Few places present a more formidable appearance than this: the only approach by land is over a low sandy isthmus, occupied by one front of fortification; and this narrow road is commanded by the castle: but on the left flank there are considerable sand hills, about 600 or 700 yards distant, which entlade and take in reverse the front defences: those which cross the isthmus are a single line of fortification, exceeding 350 yards in length, with a flat bastion in the centre, covered by a horn work, having the usual counterscarp, covered way, and glacis; but others which run lengthways consist only of a single line, the water beneath being thought to render them inaccessible: the northern line is quite exposed to the sand hills; and the Urumea, which washes the town on that side, is fordable at low water, the tide receding so much, that a large space is left dry, over which troops can march to the very foot of the wall: yet

CHAP.
LIV.
1813.

that wall had been left uncovered, ever since marshal Berwick had effected a breach there in 1719, by which he took the city.¹¹ Into this place Jourdan had thrown a considerable force, under general Emanuel Rey, who escorted the convoy which quitted Vittoria the day before the battle: by this influx of families the town doubled its usual population of 8000; but Rey, urged by necessity, obliged all persons, not residents, to depart into France. On the twenty-seventh of June, general Foy, while retreating before Graham, also threw a reinforcement into the place; and on the first of July 300 more troops were brought by the infamous governor of Gueteria, who, when he abandoned that place, left a lighted train secretly, which blew up the magazine, with numbers of the inhabitants, after the battle of Vittoria; moreover every exertion which art and courage could make was made by its intrepid garrison: the first great operation of the besiegers was to attack a strong advanced post, in the convent of St. Bartolomé; but after 2500 shot and 450 shells had been fired, it was found necessary to dislodge the enemy with the bayonet; and the victorious party, pursuing the flying garrison to the foot of the glacis, suffered severely on its return. A fire from the town was kept up against this post for twenty-four hours; and the dead which strewed the intermediate ground lay there, unburied, during the siege; so jealous was each party of an approach to their works: during the night, two batteries were erected to take the defences of the city in reverse; a difficult work in loose sand, where the enemy's fire was so sharp and precise, that four sentinels were killed successively through one loop-hole: the only eminence whence artillery could be brought to bear directly on the town, though still about 100 feet below it, was above the convent, and almost adjoining its walls: here a battery was erected; the covered way to it passed through the convent, and the battery itself was constructed in a burial-ground: a more ghastly scene can seldom have occurred in war; for coffins and corpses in all stages of decay were

¹¹ Southey's *Peninsular War*, vol. iii. p. 666.

exposed, when the soil was thrown up against the fire from the town, and were actually used in the defences: so that when a shell burst there, it brought down the living and the dead together. As one of our officers¹² was giving his orders, a shot struck the edge of the trenches above him, and two coffins slipped down upon him with the sand: these broke in their fall; the bodies rolled with him to some distance; and when he recovered, he saw that they had been women of some rank; being richly attired in black velvet, while their long hair hung about their shoulders and livid faces. Our soldiers, in the scarcity of firewood, being nothing nice, broke up coffins for fuel to dress their food, leaving the bodies exposed; and, till the hot sun had dried up these poor insulted remains of humanity, the stench was dreadful as the sight.

On the twentieth of July all our batteries were opened; a redoubt was abandoned by the enemy; and next day a summons was sent, but not received: meantime, in cutting a parallel across the isthmus, the men came to a subterranean channel, four feet high and three wide, in which was a pipe to carry water to the city. Lieutenant Reid of the engineers, a young and zealous officer, having ventured to explore it, found it closed at the end of 230 yards, by a door in the counterscarp of the hornwork; and there a mine, consisting of thirty barrels of gunpowder, was securely laid, while eight feet of the drain were closely stopped by sand, to aid its force by compression. The service in our breaching batteries was dreadfully severe, but greatly assisted by the heroic efforts of some British seamen: by noon, on the twenty-second, a breach 600 feet in length appeared practicable, but delay unfortunately took place; and it was thought advisable to form a second and a third; which were effected before the night of the twenty-fourth, when 2000 men of the fifth division filed into the trenches on the isthmus: at the same time, many parts of the

CHAP.
I.V. --
1813.

¹² The officer to whom this accident occurred, and who communicated these details to Mr. Southey, was known to the author as a clergyman; and long exerted himself, like many other of our peninsular heroes, as zealously in his clerical, as he did formerly in his military duties.

CHAP.
LIV.
1813.

town were discovered to be in flames; and the frequent crash of houses was mingled with the roar of artillery. Still great delay and confusion occurred: orders were given and countermanded; arrangements were not made known to a sufficient number of officers; and the attack was ordered at a wrong time: the French, also, being prepared for the event, brought every gun looking in the direction of our attack to bear on it; and 'from all around the breach, its assailants were flanked and enfiladed with a destructive fire of grape and musketry: blazing planks and beams were thrown transversely across the walls and breach; while stones, shot, shells, and handgrenades were showered on the allies with dreadful effect.'¹³ As the storming columns were moving out of the trenches, the mine in the aqueduct being sprung, brought down such a length of the counterscarp and glacis of the hornwork, that the astounded enemy abandoned the flanking parapet: but when a brave corps of Portuguese rushed to take advantage of this occurrence, no scaling ladders were to be found; the volumes of flame and smoke which issued from the burning houses made the stoutest hearts to quail, and nearly the whole party were miserably slain, before the order for recalling them arrived. Major Frazer was killed in the flaming ruins; but the intrepid lieutenant Jones, of the engineers, with a small party of the first royals, stood for a short time on the top of the great breach; and troops were rushing up, when the enemy sprung a mine at one place, and drew the supports from a false bridge at another; blowing up some of the assailants, and precipitating others on spikes below: the rest at the foot of the breach were now panic-struck, and ran back; the destination of another column, coming up in their rear, was altered; and the sun, when he arose, disclosed a loss of 44 officers of the line, and five of the engineers, with the talented sir R. Fletcher, constructor of the lines of Torres Vedras; also above 500 men were sacrificed to the inexperience of the brave Graham in conducting sieges. At

¹³ Southey, vol. iii. p. 674.

this period occurred one of those adventures which so curiously diversify the picture of war. Lieutenant (afterwards colonel) Jones, whom we left with a few more heroic soldiers standing on the breach, was soon struck down, with the rest, and left there by the retreating column at its repulse: being at first stunned, he was roused by the exclamation of a soldier lying next to him—‘Oh, they are murdering us all!’ On looking up, he says, I perceived a number of French grenadiers, under a heavy fire of grape, sword in hand, stepping over the dead, and *stabbing the wounded*: my companion was treated in this manner; and the sword withdrawn from his body, and reeking with his blood, was raised to give me the *coup de grace*, when fortunately the uplifted arm was arrested by a smart little man, a sergeant, probably mistaking my rank from seeing a gay gold epaulette on a blue uniform, who cried out, ‘*oh! mon colonel, êtes-vous blessé?*’ and immediately ordered some of his men to remove me into the town. They accordingly raised me in their arms and carried me up the breach to the ramparts of the right flanking tower: here we were stopped by a captain of grenadiers, who asked some questions, kissed me, and desired the party to proceed to the hospital. On passing the embrasure of the high curtain, we were exposed to a very sharp musketry fire from the trenches; and there it was that we met the governor and his staff, in full-dress uniforms, hurrying to the breach. He asked if I was badly wounded, and directed that proper care should be taken of me.’¹⁴ Wellington repaired immediately to St. Sebastian, with a determination to complete the second breach, and renew the attack; but our ammunition was running low; and Soult’s movements in the Pyrenees being reported to him, his attention was recalled to that quarter; accordingly, he withdrew the guns from the batteries, and converted the siege into a blockade: so improperly, however, was this operation conducted, that the vigilant enemy made a sortie,

¹⁴ The narrative whence this account is taken, and which is one of the most interesting ever penned, may be found in Maxwell’s *Peninsular Sketches*, vol. ii.

CHAP.
LIV.

1813.

captured nearly 300 of the allies in the trenches, and carried them prisoners into the town: but Soult's defeat was now known, and Graham only awaited the arrival of fresh artillery and stores from England, to renew the siege. These, with considerable reinforcements for our army, were landed at Passages on the eighteenth; 'for now,' as Southey observes, 'the British government had caught the spirit of its victorious general, and was no longer limited by parsimonious impolicy.'

The garrison, however, had spent their time well within the place; and every thing, which art and ingenuity could devise for its defence, was effected: the siege recommenced on the twenty-fourth of August, and a detachment of British sailors was employed in erecting mortar batteries against the castle: they had a double allowance of grog, employing a fiddler at their own cost to cheer the hours of labor; and at every shell which fell within the fortress, three huzzas were given, with a grand flourish of the violin.

The breaching batteries opened on the twenty-sixth: next night, a sortie was attempted, but without success; and on that of the twenty-ninth, our men made a false attack, with a hope of inducing the enemy to spring their mines; but the latter were too wary. Preparations now commenced for an assault, and men were invited to volunteer; 'such,' it was said, 'as knew how to show other troops the way to mount a breach;' and when this communicated to the fourth division, which was to furnish 400 men, the whole moved forward. The conduct of the attack was confided to sir James Leith, who had just arrived from England; and as the breaches appeared practicable, the assault was ordered for eleven o'clock on the thirty-first, the time of low water; when sir James, accompanied by the chief engineer, took his station on the open beach, about thirty yards before the *débouches* from the trenches, in order to set an example to his men, and to direct their movements. The garrison were, as before, on the alert; and the forlorn

hope, consisting of an officer and thirty men, fell to a man: the front of the columns which followed were cut off as by one shot; and the breach, when reached by its assailants, was covered with their dead bodies: as they ascended, such a concentrated fire was kept up, as our most experienced officers had never witnessed; and the living, dead, and dying, rolled down the ruins as fast as they mounted toward the summit: in fact, nothing could be more fallacious than the external appearance of this breach, which was quite impracticable; and no man could outlive the attempt to pass it. Sir James Leith was in the act of sending directions for removing the dead and wounded men from the *débouches*, which were so choked up as to prevent the passage of the troops, when a plunging shot struck that gallant officer in its rebound, and laid him senseless; but he recovered his breath and recollection; and, refusing to quit the place, continued to give his orders. Sir Thomas Graham, in the mean time, accepted the offer of Bradford's Portuguese brigade to ford the river, and assist in the assault; when a battalion under major Snodgrass, and a detachment under colonel M'Bean, crossed under a deadly fire, and took part in what the commander began to consider a desperate affair; and desperate it must have been, had not colonel Dickson, whose resources were inexhaustible, proposed to turn his artillery against the breach, and fire over the heads of its assailants: the proposal was instantly accepted, and executed with the utmost precision; our own troops were astonished at hearing the roar of cannon from behind them; but they saw with still greater surprise the enemy swept from the curtain, and the breach becoming more and more practicable: the first discharge brought down a few in our own ranks; but the second made the intent intelligible, and a grand effort was then ordered to gain the high ridge at all hazards.

About this time a shell burst near to sir James Leith, and broke his left arm in two places: yet he continued to issue orders till he fainted from loss of blood; when major-general Hay succeeded to the com-

Capture of
St. Sebastian.
—
tian.

CHAP.
LIV.
—
1813.

mand. Nothing now could withstand the fury of the assailants: the breach was passed under the most appalling circumstances; and, though a contest was still maintained from barricadoes in the streets, and from houses turned into fortresses, the enemy were driven into the castle, their last place of refuge; whence, however, they continued incessantly to fire, and to roll down shells into the town. The closing scene exhibits a dreadful picture of the horrors of war:—‘About three in the afternoon, the day, which had been sultry, became unusually cold: the sky was overcast; and between the blackness of the sky, the rain, and the smoke, it was as dark as a dusky evening; but when darkness would, in its natural course, have closed, the town was in flames: a dreadful night of thunder, rain, and wind succeeded; and this was made far more dreadful by man than by the elements. It is no easy task for officers, after the heat of an assault, to restrain successful troops, who are under no moral restraint; and on this day so many officers had perished, that the men fancied themselves exempt from all control:’ in fact, they acted the part of demons in the shape of men;¹⁵ revenging, as at Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos, the obstinate resistance of the garrison upon the poor unoffending inhabitants; who had most unwillingly seen their city occupied by the French, and had undergone dreadful sufferings and privations during the siege: in sacking the place, soldiers fired on their officers, who endeavored to prevent their excesses; and if the enemy could have suspected the state of drunkenness, to which men, so excellent and brave in action, had reduced themselves, they might probably have retaken the town. The loss of

¹⁵ ‘This storm (says colonel Napier) seemed to be the signal of hell for the perpetration of villainy which would have shamed the most ferocious barbarians of antiquity. At Ciudad Rodrigo intoxication and plunder had been the principal object; at Badajos lust and murder were joined to rapine and drunkenness; but at San Sebastian, the direst, the most revolting *cruelty* was added to the catalogue of crimes. One atrocity, of which a girl of seventeen was the victim, staggers the mind by its enormous, incredible, indescribable barbarity.’ Surely disgrace must rest somewhere, for neglect in preventing such scenes of horror: but to what a train of reflections does it lead, that christian soldiers can be found perpetrating such atrocities; and christian people, in the exultation of victory not reflecting on, or adverting to, their perpetration!

the assailants amounted to nearly 1600 British, and 800 Portuguese killed or wounded; while 700 of the garrison were taken prisoners.

CHAP.
LIV.
1813.

Preparations were now made to reduce the castle: batteries were erected on the works; such houses as had escaped destruction were prepared for musketry; and on the eighth of September sixty pieces of ordnance opened their fire. On the third, some discussion had taken place about a surrender, but the terms were rejected: and a vertical fire of shells was continued day and night, though the British prisoners suffered from it equally with the garrison; for the ferocious commander, irritated against his persevering foes, cruelly refused to let those unfortunate captives make trenches to cover themselves from our destructive projectiles: at length, when all the guns of the fortress were dismounted, and the defences utterly demolished, a white flag was displayed; and on the tenth, the garrison marched out of the ruins as prisoners of war: the conduct and character of general Rey excited no pity for his misfortune; but colonel St. Onary, commandant of the place, who had displayed much kindness toward his prisoners, and the brave captain Sugeon, who, on the day of the first assault, descended even into the breach to assist our wounded soldiers, were immediately sent to France: honored be the memory of such men!

In the mean time, the contest still continued in Catalonia, where lord William Bentinck invested Tarragona: but his forces were inferior, both in numbers and quality, to those of Suchet; who raised the siege, but abandoned the place, after destroying the ramparts and artillery: he afterwards surprised the Anglo-Sicilian army at the pass of Ordal, and obliged it to retreat: at this period, the uneasy state of affairs in Sicily, and the ill success of political changes there, rendered it necessary for lord William to repair thither: the command of the army, therefore, devolved on sir William Clinton, who, with a very inadequate force, and under most discouraging circumstances, had not only to prevent Suchet from availing himself of his

Affairs in
Catalonia.

CHAP.
LIV.
1813.

late success to withdraw his garrisons from Valencia; but so to occupy the attention of that able commander, as to stop the succors which he might send to Soult. As soon as arrangements could be made for restoring the works at Tarragona, and supplying with provisions the Spaniards attached to his command, sir William fixed his head-quarters at Villafranca.

The Spanish government, justly designated by colonel Napier as having 'ever been tyrannical, faithless, mean, and equivocating to the lowest degree,' though it decreed honors and rewards to lord Wellington, creating him duke of Vittoria, after the great victory which liberated the peninsula, still manifested a want of frank and generous conduct toward himself as well as his country. In direct breach of contract, they had superseded Castaños in his command, and made various other changes, contrary to the British general's wishes and representations; which, if the war had continued in their country, might have led to serious consequences: infamous libels also were circulated, imputing the most sinister views to Great Britain, because some of its troops still remained in Cadiz and Carthagena; and no care was taken to counteract the injurious impression thus produced: but Wellington, having obtained the necessary orders from home, withdrew those troops as soon as their presence ceased to be requisite; and addressed, through his brother, a cutting remonstrance to the government which had allowed such calumnies to pass uncontradicted. A report that he was himself about to assume the Spanish sceptre, and which produced a vehement protest from the dukes of Ossuna, and Frias, the visconde de Gante, and other grandes, he treated with that silent contempt which it deserved.

A short period of inactivity followed Soult's retreat; Wellington not deeming it prudent to enter France, and leave the strongholds of St. Sebastian and Pampeluna occupied in his rear: while therefore those active measures just related were taken for reducing the former place, the latter was still vigorously blockaded: its surrender indeed appeared so certain and so near,

that, on the seventh of October, our field-marshal determined to force the passage of the Bidassoa. Every precaution had been used to screen this movement; and the allied force, crossing in three columns, was not observed, till several of its leading regiments were half over the river: a brisk fire was then opened on them; the water was stained with their blood; and all who fell there perished: but our light troops pushed rapidly on; and, gaining the opposite bank, drove back the enemy; while the columns, forming as they landed, prepared to attack the French line ranged on the nearest hills: from these they were quickly driven; when Soult concentrated his army behind a strongly fortified position on the Nivelle; where he resolved to make another stand against the advance of his pursuers.

The point occupied by the right of the allied army enabled it at once to rush down into the plains of France at the first favorable moment: the left had scarcely been placed in a similar situation, when that moment arrived; for on the first of November a despatch was received from the commander of the Spanish forces blockading Pampeluna, to announce its fall, after one of the most obstinate defences, by general Cassan, ever known in the annals of war; and one also in which the miseries of the garrison were never surpassed; for they were reduced to live on rats and all such vermin, until these were accounted delicacies, unattainable except by the fortunate; thousands could obtain nothing to support life but herbs growing under the city walls; and numbers in ignorance gathered and eat hemlock which put an end to all their miseries. Napoleon was now encircled by toils: while British fleets swept the sea, the armies of Russia, Austria, and Prussia were on the frontiers of the Rhine; and Wellington was preparing to push his victorious forces, like another Hannibal, over the Pyrenean boundaries: but before he effected this grand movement, our commander-in-chief issued a proclamation full of judicious and salutary instructions for the conduct of his army in an enemy's country; a document, as honorable to

CHAP.
LIV.
— 1813.

him as any victory. After reminding the allied troops, that their nations were at war with France, solely because her ruler would not allow them to be at peace; he exhorted them not to forget, 'that the worst of evils suffered by the enemy in their profligate invasion were occasioned by their own irregularities and cruelties, authorised and encouraged by their chiefs, toward the unfortunate people: to avenge this conduct on the peaceable inhabitants of France would be unmanly; unworthy of the nations to which the commander of the forces then addressed himself.'

Nor were these admonitions too soon delivered: already had the invading troops commenced a system of plunder and assassination; and the commander-in-chief feared lest a general rising of the inhabitants might involve him in a contest like that which Napoleon had excited in Spain. With his British and Portuguese troops he had less trouble than with the Spaniards, instigated to ferocious acts not more by the memory of past injuries, than by letters from their countrymen, and the encouragement which they received from their own officers, particularly the ferocious Morillo, who afterwards proved so sanguinary a monster in South America. This ruffian having expressed doubts of the generalissimo's right to interfere with Spaniards, was fully answered; and at length rendered a sullen obedience. Soon however excesses were again permitted; and the partizan warfare which ensued, obliged Wellington to adopt a method of stopping it very characteristic of the man; threatening to send these Spanish generals at the head of their native troops against the French, while he, with his Anglo-Portuguese army, defended the frontiers behind them.

Passage of
Nivelle.

To force the passage of the Nivelle, and the strongly intrenched posts on its bank, was the first step to be taken; and about three o'clock in the morning of the tenth of November the allied army was put into motion: a bright full moon lighted the mountain paths; our regiments mustered in silence; and each division, following its chief, moved down the different passes as quietly as such a host could move:

it was hoped that the enemy might be taken unawares; but they were accustomed to fall into their ranks every morning at daybreak; and the advancing troops were received with a brisk cannonade from fortified redoubts in front. The divisions pressed on, almost in line; and the advantage of this simultaneous movement was evident; for the success of any one division, and its consequent advance, would threaten the rear of those fortified posts which still held out: in some instances, the defences were quickly deserted, whilst others were bravely defended; but the whole conduct of the enemy appeared more like a last effort of despair, than the struggle of valorous and excited men. Their main body was stationed behind, and to the left of the village of Sarre; but an attack of the third and seventh divisions drove them, with much loss, on the left of their centre; while our light division attacked their right; and the fourth, with a Spanish reserve, forced them to abandon almost all their redoubts: the defenders of one of these, however, continued to resist too long; so that the centre divisions of the allies actually closed on their rear, and the whole garrison of 600 men became prisoners of war: the French now fell back in disorder, hastening to cross the river and defend its bridges: one of these however was gained by our third and seventh divisions, and the army halted for the night; of which circumstance Soult took advantage to retreat on Bayonne; but he left fifty pieces of cannon, and 1500 prisoners, with a large quantity of ammunition and stores in the hands of his pursuers; carrying off even his veteran troops dispirited by defeat. After the passage of the Nivelle had been thus forced, the weather became so adverse to military operations, that the allied troops were placed in cantonments; with a line of defensive posts, to prevent any sudden incursion of the enemy: but on the ninth of December, they again took the field; and, having crossed the Nive with a trifling loss, drove Soult into his intrenched camp, which had been in preparation since the battle of Vittoria. This position gave him every facility for masking his opera-

CHAP. tions, and concentrating his main force against any
LIV. — point in his adversary's line: on the morning of the
1813. eleventh, therefore, when part of the British left wing
were hewing wood to cook their rations, the French
were observed cutting gaps in the different fences, for
the passage of artillery; and almost instantaneously a
furious attack commenced along the Bayonne road,
where our piquets were driven on their supports, and
a hill in front of Barroulet became the scene of a
sharp contest. As soon as this attack commenced,
there was a general shout, 'To arms!' and the soldiers
that were cutting wood in front of Barroulet ran
hastily toward the rear to accoutre themselves: the
French, observing this, and imagining that their ad-
versaries were struck with a panic, came on with loud
cheers; but in a few minutes they found the whole
left wing formed in perfect order, and were obliged to
retreat before it: Soult then changed his plans, and
with great secrecy prepared to attack the right wing
and centre of his antagonist, thinking that he should
take him unprepared; but he soon found that Wel-
lington had divined his intentions. Advancing with
an overwhelming force of 30,000 men, he directed
them principally against the centre, where Hill com-
manded, and continued to command throughout the
day with the most distinguished gallantry and skill:
a severe contest was then kept up for some time;
and the enemy even succeeded in gaining one of the
heights occupied by the allies; but sir Rowland, per-
ceiving at once that nearly all the opposing columns
were concentrated in order to attack his centre, or-
dered up the troops on each flank to support it: these
drove the enemy from their momentary conquest;
the battle became general; and, towards evening,
Soult was obliged to retire into his intrenchments
with great loss, and with the mortifying conviction,
that his troops could not contend with the allies; for,
as it has been justly observed, 'he had repeatedly at-
tacked with an army, and been repulsed by a division.'
Nothing indeed could exceed his own skill, activity,
and perseverance during the whole of this campaign;

which fully merited the praises bestowed on it by the great master of the art of war, the exile of St. Helena; but he had met with antagonists, who were to teach France and her marshals the frail tenure of human fame. The campaign of 1813 may be said now to have terminated; for Soult in his impregnable position could defy the allied army; and Wellington, too prudent to attempt to force it, placed his troops in cantonments, and awaited the result of those great movements on the other side of France, to which the attention of all Europe was now drawn.

But the sound of British arms calls us far away over the Atlantic waves to the contemplation of scenes which never should have occurred. The Americans having again menaced the Detroit frontier with invasion, colonel Proctor, who commanded in that quarter, boldly marched to meet their advanced division in the depth of a Canadian winter: with a handful of British regulars and militia, aided by 500 Indians, he surprised the enemy's quarters on the river Raisin, and killed or captured the whole corps of 1100 men, with general Winchester, their commander. For the next irruption into this province, general Dearborn brought 2000 men; while Chauncey commanded a flotilla on Lake Ontario: their immediate object was the conquest of York, where major-general Sheaffe's force was insufficient for the purposes of defence: the American vessels approached so near as to make an impression on our batteries; and, while the troops were engaged, the explosion of a magazine, which destroyed or injured many on each side, seemed to produce a greater effect on the feelings of the British than of the American commander: the place was soon afterwards evacuated by the regulars, and the militia became prisoners of war; nor was this loss compensated by the success of a British party, which, crossing the St. Lawrence from Lower Canada, enforced the surrender of Ogdensburg. Colonel Procter, after some months of constrained inaction, now undertook an expedition to the Miami; but as the Americans suspected his intention, they had so fortified a strong

American
campaign.

CHAP.
LIV.
—1813.—

post near the river, that no batteries which he could erect had the power of dislodging them: he was, however, consoled for the want of complete success by an opportunity of gallant exertion: a sudden attack from about 1300 men, advancing to relieve the garrison, and aided by a sortie, threw his troops into some disorder, and gained a momentary possession of his batteries; but his efforts and exhortations, added to the example of his officers, rallied the wavering forces; and the enemy fled in confusion, leaving above 1000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The British were assisted in this expedition by a body of 1200 Indians, who, after the victory, hastened into the woods with their spoils; and, as no solicitation could now restrain them from returning to their settlements, the colonel was compelled, by this desertion, to abandon farther operations: removing, therefore, his artillery from the batteries, under a brisk fire, he retired to his quarters on the Canadian frontier.

In another quarter, colonel Baynes and commodore Yeo were employed by sir George Prevost in a vain attempt to reduce a strong post at Sacket's harbor; where the republicans, instead of being surprised, were found prepared to resist an attack. It was necessary to force a narrow causeway, covered in many places with water; and when this point had been gained, they retreated to the fort, after destroying the neighboring storehouses and a frigate on the stocks; some enclosed barracks were set on fire by our advancing troops; but their commander very unaccountably ordered a retreat, when the enemy were themselves evacuating the place in a panic. A more spirited contest, for a fort on the Niagara, occurred between the troops of colonel Vincent and an American force, which landed near Fort George, and advanced to an assault, which was obstinately resisted, as long as the great inferiority of the British would allow. Seeing no chance of retaining his post, the colonel ordered all its materials of strength to be destroyed; and retreated in good order: but at the heights of Burlington, he was threatened with an attack by above 2000 men,

whose intention he resolved to anticipate: advancing with a force scarcely exceeding 700 regular troops, he reached the enemy's camp, at Stony Creek, in the night, and commenced an assault, which terminated before daybreak in complete success. One of his detachments subsequently enforced the surrender of 500 men; who, being assailed and thrown into disorder by a body of Indians, capitulated as soon as they observed the approach of his troops.

A desire of recovering Fort George, induced general Prevost to attack its outposts, in the hope of drawing the republicans into the field; but though their force, by his account, doubled the amount of his small army, they did not venture to accept the challenge. Commodore Yeo was equally forward in offering battle on Lake Ontario; but the enemy sacrificed two vessels to avoid a conflict: at another time, the opposing squadrons fought, with little advantage on either side; and in the sequel, six of our transports, filled with troops, were captured. On Lake Erie, a contest took place, in which each party asserted its superiority; but, as the Americans were decidedly victorious, it is but fair to give their account of the engagement.

On the tenth of September, the squadron, under commodore Perry, lying at Put-in-bay, discovered the British making toward them at sunrise. Perry's force consisted of two twenty-gun brigs, with several small vessels; carrying, in all, fifty-four guns, and about 600 men; the opposing armament was superior in men and metal, being six vessels, carrying sixty-three guns. At eleven o'clock, A. M., the British formed in line of battle; but as the wind changed, the American commodore had an opportunity to bear down on them as he chose: at a few minutes past twelve the firing commenced; and some damage was done to the *Lawrence*, in which Perry led his squadron, before he could bring the short guns to bear on his opponents: at length, he opened his battery, and stood the fire of his antagonists for two hours, though the other part of his fleet did not come to his assistance: the *Lawrence* now became unmanageable; her decks were strewed with the dead;

CHAP.
LIV.
1813.

and her guns were dismounted: at this moment, Perry conceived a bold and admirable design, which he no sooner conceived, than it was put into execution: giving the command of the *Lawrence* to lieutenant Yarnell, he jumped, with his flag under his arm, into a boat, and amidst a shower of balls, made his way to the *Niagara*, the second ship of his squadron; where his colors were seen flying from the mast-head of what comparatively was a fresh ship: it was a moment full of peril; but the youthful hero was as calm as adventurous. Having quickly brought his vessel into a position to break the opposing line, he gave two ships a raking fire from his starboard guns; poured a broadside into a schooner from his larboard tier; and ran alongside the British commodore, whose battery he silenced in a short time by an unremitting fire. The smaller American vessels then came up, and decided the contest, which had lasted nearly three hours; all the British ships being taken, and carried to the American side of the lake. Never did a warrior, it is said, fight with a braver or more skilful foe; for the commander of the British squadron was a man of no ordinary fame: he had gained laurels at the battle of *Trafalgar*, and other sea-fights, where Englishmen had bled, and won the victory; but this day, his valor and experience did not avail him; for he was forced to yield: The havoc was great on both sides; and captain Barclay lost his remaining hand in the fight; the other had been shot off in some previous battle.

Perry's conduct in this engagement was certainly marked with skill, bravery, and perseverance; nor was he less humane than brave; taking especial care of the British wounded, as well as those of his own gallant crews; and doing all that could be done to assuage the wounds and personal feelings of commodore Barclay, while he remained a prisoner. For this action, which had a great effect on the minds of his countrymen, he was made captain in the navy, and received the thanks of congress, with several other well-merited marks of distinction.

The foregoing disaster, added to the increasing

strength of the enemy on the Detroit frontier, and a want of proper support, brought colonel Proctor to the brink of ruin: he had but 450 regular troops, beside a horde of Indians, under his command; and retreat therefore became an act of prudence, or rather of necessity. Being attacked, during his retrograde movement, by an immensely superior force, his small corps was defeated with the loss of half its numbers, before he could effect a junction with general Vincent at the head of Lake Ontario. In the progress of this war, Lower Canada was also menaced with a formidable invasion; and two general officers, with about 7000 troops each, concerted future movements against it. On both sides of the Chateauguay, cavalry and light troops were observed by the Canadians, advancing with alacrity; while heavy battalions followed, apparently with a resolute courage: but they displayed little of this quality in the conflicts which arose with small bodies of provincials; and were quickly put to flight. The other army, though it betrayed not the same pusillanimity, failed to obtain that success which its commander expected; and, after the partial defeat of a strong detachment, did not long maintain its ground, but desisted from action, and followed the example of retreat: even the rigors of an inclement winter did not altogether suspend hostile operations: the inhabitants of the Niagara district having been plundered, and otherwise harassed, colonel Murray, advancing to Fort George, overawed the enemy into an abandonment of that fortress, without allowing them time to destroy the works: the same officer thence proceeded to Fort Niagara, which he took by assault, and rescued that part of the frontier from intrusion and outrage; but not before another expedition had been undertaken, by which about 2000 men were dislodged, after an obstinate resistance, from a strong position at Black Rock.

The success of the Americans last year, in single ships of superior force, had roused the indignation and spirit of British tars; who had been, by the force of

Contest between the Shannon and Chesapeake.

CHAP.
I.IV.
—
1813.

circumstances, obliged to strike to foes whom they would have despised in equal combat: captain Broke, of the *Shannon*, therefore, resolved to convince these boasting republicans, that they were not yet to claim pre-eminence on the ocean. He had been for some time cruising near the port of Boston, where the American frigate *Chesapeak* then lay; and, that the enemy might not be prevented from coming out by the apprehension of a superior force, he drew up alone, before the harbor, in a posture of defiance. Captain Laurance, like a brave officer, immediately accepted the challenge, and put to sea; while crowds of inhabitants lined the beach to witness the approaching conflict, in full confidence of the result; for the *Chesapeak*, in number and weight of guns, as well as in the number of her crew, had a considerable superiority over the *Shannon*. After an exchange of broadsides, the American frigate, which had come out with three flags flying, in full confidence of victory, closed so near, that the ships became locked together; and captain Broke observing, at this critical moment, that his antagonist's men flinched from their guns, gave orders to board; when he and his gallant associates rushed on the hostile deck, driving all before them with irresistible fury, until they had pulled down the American flag, and hoisted the British in its place: the firing from below soon ceased; and the *Chesapeak*, after a short conflict of fifteen minutes, was on her course to Halifax, with her conqueror.

How little the honorable principles of warfare were regarded at this time by the republicans, was made manifest in their attempt to blow up the *Ramillies*, captain sir Thomas Hardy: to effect this horrible purpose two merchants of New York, in consequence of an offer made by government to give half the value of all British men of war so destroyed, fitted out a schooner, apparently laden with provisions and stores; under which casks of gunpowder were deposited, with trains laid to a machine constructed on the principles of clockwork, and invented by the celebrated Fulton,

who first applied the power of steam to navigation : this infernal vessel was placed in the way of our men of war, and was boarded, from the Ramillies, by Mr. Geddes, a master's mate, who, with his whole boat's crew, was blown up by the explosion ; when his valuable life, and that of ten British seamen, were sacrificed. A republican government may, indeed, contain within it individuals of the noblest principles : but when did any thing honorable ever proceed from government itself under that detestable form ?

CHAP.
LIV.

1813.

CHAPTER LV.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1813.

Meeting of parliament, &c.—Bill for allowing the militia to volunteer into the line—Loan, and subsidies to foreign powers, &c.—Foreign policy of ministers fully supported—Adjournment to March—Peace with Denmark—Defection of Murat—Allies prepare to cross the Rhine—Napoleon quits Paris—His contest with the allies till the latter approach the capital—Operations of sir Thomas Graham in the Netherlands—And of lord Wellington, to the retreat of Soult behind his intrenchments at Toulouse—Affairs at Paris to the abdication of Napoleon, &c.—Battle of Toulouse, and subsequent events in the south of France—Return of Ferdinand VII., and other sovereigns, to their countries—Lord William Bentinck's expedition to Genoa, &c.—Departure of Louis XVIII. from England, and his arrival in Paris—Treaty with the allies—Meeting of the British parliament; honors to lord Wellington, &c.—Visit of the allied sovereigns to England—Affairs relating to the princess of Wales and her daughter, &c.—State of Ireland—Meeting of parliament—Treaty with Holland—Congress of Vienna, &c.—Domestic circumstances—British parliament—American war; and peace concluded with the United States.

Meeting of
parliament.

THE British parliament met on the fourth of November, under more auspicious circumstances than had occurred since the commencement of the revolutionary war. The prince declared in his speech, that no disposition to require from France sacrifices inconsistent with her honor and just pretensions, would ever be an obstacle to peace; and that he was ready to enter into discussion with the United States, on principles not opposed to the established maxims of public law, and the maritime rights of the British empire: on this occasion, some of those statesmen in both houses, who had been most decided in their opposition to govern-

ment, acknowledged the wisdom, and rejoiced in the success, of that policy which they had formerly condemned; so that the addresses were carried without a division. After the treaties with Russia and Prussia had been laid before parliament, lord Castlereagh introduced a bill for allowing three-fourths of any militia regiment to volunteer for foreign service; and so desirable did it appear to make every possible exertion for bringing the great contest to a speedy conclusion, that this bill passed through both houses without any opposition: the sanction of parliament was also obtained, without a dissentient voice, for a loan of £22,000,000; as well as for the aids granted to Sweden, Russia, and Austria, in direct subsidies, or in bills of credit. Two millions had been advanced to Spain, two to Portugal, and one to Sweden: the sum to be allowed for Russia and Prussia was estimated at £5,000,000; and the advance to Austria consisted of £1,000,000, together with 100,000 stand of arms, and military stores in proportion: men of all parties concurred in supporting the foreign policy of our cabinet; while many of its strongest opponents, particularly lord Holland and lord Grenville, expressed great approbation of the confidence which it had acquired: the desired grants having been procured, ministers proposed to relieve members from a long and constant attendance by an adjournment from December to March: this motion excited some debate, as involving a contemptuous treatment of parliament, whose services seemed only required for the convenience of pecuniary grants; and it was thought that many subjects which called for deliberation, might be discussed even in the absence of lord Castlereagh, whom the regent had deputed to the head quarters of the allies, in order to promote the interests of the grand confederacy: a majority, however, readily consented to this long suspension of public business: the great successes of the continental powers, who had now rescued their dominions from Napoleon's usurpation, excited strong hopes that a vigorous prosecution of hostilities would produce a safe and lasting peace; for which purpose

CHAP. it appeared necessary to provide new funds and settle
 LV. new treaties of alliance; for these the interval proposed
 1814. was requisite.

Peace with
 Denmark.

On the fourteenth of January, peace was re-established between Great Britain and Denmark; the former power engaging to restore all conquests, except Heligoland; and the latter agreeing to join the allies with 10,000 men, on receiving a British subsidy of £400,000; and to accept from Sweden Pomerania in lieu of Norway: the mortifications of Napoleon were also increased by the base defection of his brother-in-law, the king of Naples, who engaged to assist Austria with 30,000 men, while he opened his ports to the English. This was perhaps the blow which Napoleon felt most severely; for in addition to Murat's perfidy, it overthrew one of his most gigantic schemes; the object of which was, that while he disputed the soil of France with its invaders, the king of Naples and Eugene Beauharnois should unite their forces in the rear of the allies, and march on Vienna: a considerable British force was now sent, under sir Thomas Graham, to create a diversion in Holland, where a successful insurrection in favor of the prince of Orange had broken out.

Allies cross
 the Rhine.

Since Bonaparte was considered as having rejected the equitable terms proposed by the confederated princes, they determined to try the issue of this contest in France itself: about 400,000 men therefore prepared to cross the Rhine, forming the army of the Netherlands under Bulow, the Silesian army under Blucher, and the grand army under prince Schwartzenburg, which took a direction across the Upper Rhine, through Switzerland; and dearly did the French soon pay for the loss of that country's neutrality, which they had set the first example of breaking! In the mean time Napoleon was still in Paris, endeavoring to raise the nation *en masse*, with the desperation of a gamester who sets his last stake on the cast. Of his council he demanded '*men*'; not the miserable striplings who choked his hospitals with sick, and the roads with their carcasses: but he asked for what the exhausted coun-

try could not give. On the twenty-fifth of January, the allies had made such progress, that he thought it necessary to leave Paris, after entrusting the empress, whom he appointed regent, with her infant son, to the national guards of his capital. Advancing from Chalons, and anxious to prevent the junction of his enemies, the emperor threw himself between Schwartzenburg and Blucher; but he directed his first blow against the latter, who happened to be at dinner in the castle of Brienne, the scene of Napoleon's early school-days: Blucher's outposts were driven in, but the battle was not decisive; for the French retained the town, though the junction took place which they had endeavored to prevent; so that Blucher and Schwartzenburg engaged their antagonists, on the first of February, with a great superiority of force; Alexander and Frederick William being both present with their armies. Attacked along their whole line, it required all the efforts of the French generals to keep the young conscripts firm before such overwhelming masses: by a desperate Prussian charge, their centre was obliged to give way; but the wings, especially that under Gerard, nobly resisted and covered the retreat; which, however, was not effected without the loss of many prisoners and cannon. Such was the ominous commencement of this campaign.

Blucher was now eager to push on toward Paris; and being joined by two fresh divisions, he separated his army from the Austrians, tardy by nature as well as from policy. It was not the wish of Francis to annihilate the power of his son-in-law; and the dangers of battle were not the greatest to which the allies were exposed; for under the auspices of Austria, negotiations were opened at Chatillon, while Blucher persisted in advancing along the Marne: in these openings of accommodation, some new gleams of hope ever occurred to divert Napoleon from his forlorn condition, and lead him onward to his final ruin.

Their rash advance now inspired him with the plan of surprising and defeating the Prussians; which idea so possessed him, that he recalled a *carte blanche*,

CHAP.
LV.
1814.

given to Caulincourt, when he was sent to the congress: abandoning therefore every thing for this object, he pursued the invader, defeated his centre at Champaubert, and his van at Montmirail: but Blucher redeemed the blunder he had committed, by the firmness and perseverance with which he carried off the remnant of his army before Napoleon, till the Austrian advance on the side of the Seine recalled his pursuer. Then took place the combat of Montereau, in which the Austrians were defeated and driven back on Barsur-aube; after which, negotiations were tried for the last time, and the fate of Europe was at stake: but the hand of Providence was again visible; for his late successes had so dazzled the emperor, that he would accede only to the terms offered at Frankfort, with the kingdom of Italy guaranteed to its present viceroy, and compensation to his own brothers: the congress of Chatillon therefore terminated in a closer union of the confederates; and a quadruple alliance was signed at Chaumont, on the first of March, between England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, for twenty years; each power engaging to furnish 150,000 men for continuing the war, and not to enter into separate negotiations: England also promised a subsidy of £5,000,000 for the service of the current year; and a defensive convention was arranged, to remain in force after the existing war: thus provision was made for the future as well as for the present. Plenipotentiaries at this congress, were prince Metternich, von Hardenburg, von Nesselrode, and lord Castlereagh, the first British secretary of state for foreign affairs that had appeared in such circumstances on the continent. In the mean time, Blucher in retreat united his forces with those of the northern army, and fought the glorious battle of Laon; after which, he pressed forward, and rejoined the grand army on the eighteenth: from this time the capital of France was the grand aim of all; and Napoleon himself, guided by his evil genius, facilitated their march. Resolving, after a battle at Arcis-sur-aube on the twentieth, to make one desperate effort to retrieve his fortune, he pushed between the two armies

of the allies, that he might interrupt their communications, and fall on the rear of the Austrians: his intentions however were discovered by an intercepted letter, and a council was immediately called at the head quarters of the sovereigns. It is certain that great alarm was exhibited at this meeting; and it has been stated, that the first proposal made, was to retreat: on which, lord Castlereagh observed, 'And what have we to fear if we advance?' This led to a discussion, the result of which was an immediate march toward the capital. Marmont and Mortier, being intercepted with their divisions, on their route to join the emperor, were driven back on Paris, whose citizens heard the storm of war approaching on the twenty-seventh of March.

But these were not the only disasters that thickened round Napoleon; for the adverse tide was now flowing on him from the south, where Bourdeaux had already hoisted the white flag of the Bourbons; but to arrive at that event we must revert to the glorious career of Wellington's army; previously, however, let us take the only opportunity that may offer itself of glancing at the operations of sir Thomas Graham's forces in the Netherlands. A Prussian corps, under Bulow, had been sent to the same quarter; and it was the particular wish of the two commanders to gain possession of Antwerp: to forward that object, the well-fortified village of Merxem was attacked, and gallantly carried; but when Graham proposed to take a nearer position, the Prussian general was ordered by his sovereign to join the grand army; and Antwerp was thus rescued from danger. After a month's inaction, of which his officers began to be very weary, sir Thomas, fated to diminish by sieges that glory which he had so nobly won in the field, resolved to employ a large portion of his troops against the strong fortress of Bergen-op-Zoom; a scheme, from which no advantage could have arisen, even if it had been successful. To major-general Cooke was committed the chief direction of this enterprise: the right column, under major-general Skerret

Campaign
of lord
Wellington.

CHAP.
LV.
1814.

and brigadier Gore, advanced to the entrance of the harbor, which was fordable at low water; boldly moved along the rampart; and even forced a passage into the body of the place: but a dangerous wound, received by one leader, and the lamented death of the other, threw the division into such disorder, that, after great loss, it was obliged to retreat: the central column, under colonel Morrice, being exposed for some time to a severe fire, gave way; but it returned to the attack with renewed spirit, and marched round to join the left, which, under the immediate conduct of Cooke himself, had reached the rampart, and occupied the neighboring houses. Desirous of ascertaining the progress or fate of the other columns, he sent a detachment of the guards toward the Antwerp gate; but these got so entangled, that they could neither proceed nor return; and all, who escaped destruction, were glad to surrender: farther loss was sustained during the night; and at daybreak, the men of a Scotch regiment, harassed by a cross fire, laid down their arms to save their lives. A slight advantage was gained over a party of the enemy, who defended one of the bastions; but this could not secure the object aimed at: all the troops, therefore, that were able to retreat, were sent back by their commander, who surrendered himself, with the rest, a prisoner of war: about 300 men lost their lives in this unfortunate and unnecessary enterprise. Both at Antwerp and at Bergen-op-Zoom the operations of our commander were supported by the duke of Clarence, in the *Jason* frigate; and his royal highness received a slight contusion from the bursting of a shell, whilst he was acting with sir Geo. Hoste of the engineers, like his friend Nelson, on shore. When he left the Scheldt, the duke took on board his ship the grand duchess of Oldenburg, sister of the Russian autocrat, and conveyed her to the British shores.

As soon as the weather became favorable, Wellington broke up his cantonments; being resolved to promote the object of the grand alliance, by penetrating as far as possible into the interior of France. Having first cleared the ground on his right flank, by

driving the enemy to the eastward, and pushed forward his centre with a corresponding movement, he prepared with his left wing, under sir John Hope, to invest Bayonne; covered as it was by an intrenched camp, and designated at this period by Napoleon as one of the grand bulwarks of France. The greatest difficulty which the army had to surmount, was the passage of several rivers, behind which their antagonists successively ensconced themselves: the principal of these was the rapid Adour; which, with a strong force on its opposite bank, presented a very formidable obstacle. Our army now received supplies from the little harbor of St. Jean de Luz, which was crowded with English shipping; and the fleet under admiral Penrose greatly aided operations: with the assistance of his hardy seamen and some able military artificers, major Todd threw a bridge of boats across the stream, at a spot where it was 270 yards in breadth; but even before this was finished, sir John Hope, taking advantage of the enemy's confidence, directed the first division to attempt a passage near the mouth of the Adour, by means of pontons and boats of the country: about 600 of our guards, and some rocket companies, succeeded in their enterprise; for the French piquets took to flight; and before they recovered from their surprise, the party had established themselves on the opposite bank: towards evening, 1500 men were sent against this small force, being told that they were marching against Spaniards: but major-general Stopford made such an admirable disposition of his troops; and the rockets, which were at this time new to the French, created such terror, that the assailants precipitately retreated; and next day, the remainder of the division, being ferried over the river, prevented the enemy from interrupting our progress in forming the bridge: the result was a complete investment of Bayonne; and Soult, not deeming it necessary to remain, since the place was amply garrisoned, concentrated his forces on the right bank of the Gave de Pau, in a mountainous region, from St. Boes to Orthes. He had been reinforced by Clausel; and his position

CHAP.
LV.1814.
Battle of
Orthes.

was very strong, though not precluding the probability of his expulsion: accordingly, during the night of the twenty-sixth of February, the fourth, sixth, seventh, and light divisions passed the Pau; and early next morning, lord Wellington, having reconnoitred his adversary's line, made dispositions for an attack on its centre and flanks. This was commenced by the left wing, under Beresford, against the right of the French at St. Boes; and when that village was taken, the field-marshal next proceeded to drive his foes from two commanding heights in the rear: but the only approach to this position was over a narrow ridge of land, between two deep ravines, exposed in its whole length to the range of the French guns: the passage indeed appeared insuperable; but the fourth division bravely attempted it, amidst a dreadful diagonal fire of artillery, to which their front and centre were equally exposed: inured as these men had been to victory, they could not imagine themselves defeated; so they still pressed on over a frightful train of slaughtered comrades; but a Portuguese brigade, after standing against the havoc some time, gave way, and fled: the French pressed hard on the rear of those fugitives; and nothing but the support of fresh troops from the light division could have prevented them from spreading confusion through one wing of the allied army: the battle now assumed a menacing aspect against our troops; for the fourth division was bending beneath the fiery storm which assailed them, when it was again reserved for Picton, who commanded in the centre, to change the fortune of the day. 'At this moment,' says his biographer, 'when the issue of the contest was yet doubtful, he received orders from lord Wellington to advance against that part of the enemy's position between the right of his centre, where it rested on the left of his right wing: the attack was made with unparalleled energy and resolution: when the whole eleven regiments of the third division, being desperately engaged, drove the enemy from every height which they attempted to defend. This unexpected movement at once changed

the front of battle: the French columns, opposing the advance of Beresford's corps, being alarmed for their flank and rear, now in turn gave way, while their artillery was partially withdrawn: the fourth division then rushed over the ground on which so many had fallen; and the whole, deploying quickly into line, charged the heights, and drove the enemy before them with immense slaughter: the British artillery was now brought to some high ground near the right of the third division, from which they poured a destructive fire along the intire line of the French centre. This may be said to have concluded the battle; for Soult, seeing his centre utterly discomfited, became apprehensive for his wings; and, after another futile attempt to retrieve the day, abandoned the field.¹

His retreat soon became a complete rout; for Hill, having forced a passage of the river above the town of Orthes, was moving rapidly on the rear of his left, to cut off his communication with Sault de Navailles; the only road, except that of Dax, which was practicable for artillery: this splendid success, almost as decisive as that of Vittoria, was followed by the desertion of large bodies of conscripts, who had been reluctantly forced into Soult's army; especially those who belonged to the southern provinces, whose inhabitants were more peculiarly attached to the royal family. In the mean time, Soult had fallen back on St. Sever, destroying all the bridges in his rear; but he was closely followed by the allies, who entered that town on the first of March: sir Rowland Hill was then sent to dislodge a strong detachment from Aire; which service he gallantly performed, and captured a large quantity of stores.

The French marshal now committed the error of supposing that lord Wellington would not advance toward Bourdeaux, and leave Bayonne unreduced in his rear; but the British commander was well informed of the disaffection regarding Napoleon which existed in the former city; and, as the duc d'Angoulême, who had lately arrived at St. Jean de Luz, had

¹ Life of Picton, vol. ii. p. 280.

CHAP.
LV.—
1814.

received a deputation of the inhabitants, professing sentiments of ardent loyalty, which they were only prevented from publicly displaying by the presence of a garrison, his lordship sent Beresford, with three divisions, to drive out the troops, and secure an uninterrupted entry for the duke. This measure succeeded; the French garrison evacuated the place without resistance; and the presumptive heir to the French throne entered amid the enthusiastic cheers of his countrymen.

Soult was now falling back on Toulouse, where the inhabitants would willingly have closed their gates against him, but were obliged to wait patiently the termination of passing events: while he hoped to form a junction with Suchet, who had brought 12,000 men from Spain with a similar intent, he imagined that Wellington would not dare to draw off his troops from Bourdeaux; but he was again mistaken: no doubt was entertained respecting the loyalty of that city; and his lordship recalled the whole, except one division under lord Dalhousie, which was left to check any sudden commotion from without. On the eighteenth of March the allied army recommenced its movements on each side of the Adour; and next day, the Portuguese brigade of the third division drove a large body of the enemy from a position of great strength at the town of Vic Bigorre: next morning, sir Rowland Hill came up with the second division, and they marched together toward Tarbes, which formed the left point of a strong position taken up by the enemy, whose right extended in the direction of Rabastens. It was thought he would make a resolute stand on the heights of Tarbes; but he was driven from them almost by the demonstration of an attack; when the British, marching quickly through the town, were surprised to find the whole French force drawn up on some heights behind it: here then they bivouacked for the night, to allow all their troops to come up, and in full expectation of a general engagement next morning: but, as usual, Soult took advantage of the night, and retired toward the in-

trenchments which had been diligently prepared in the vicinity of Toulouse.

In the mean time, the forces of the allied sovereigns were gathering round Paris. On the twenty-ninth of March, Marmont and Mortier, who had been driven back on that city, occupied Montmartre and the opposite heights with 150 pieces of cannon; and at six o'clock, on the thirtieth, were attacked by the confederated troops of Austria and Russia: the resistance made to these assailants did honor to the French soldiers, especially to the young pupils of the Polytechnic school, many of whom perished in this their first essay of arms: the allies, after five hours fighting, were disconcerted; and Barclay de Tolly gave his troops a respite till he should be supported by Blucher's army, which had not yet been engaged: when that general came up, he took St. Denis, and made instant arrangements for the attack of Montmartre; but at this moment, Joseph Bonaparte, to whom the defence of the capital had been entrusted, authorised the two marshals to enter into a capitulation, and fled to join the empress and her son at Blois: on the morning of the thirty-first the troops of Marmont and Mortier marched out with all their military appurtenances, and the allied armies entered the capital of France: the emperor of Russia then issued a declaration respecting the intentions of himself and the other sovereigns; that they would treat no more with Napoleon, or his family; that they respected the integrity of France, as it existed under its legitimate kings; and that they would recognise and guarantee the constitution which France should adopt. On the first of April the senate assembled: Talleyrand was appointed president; and its first act was to nominate a provisional government of five persons, the president himself being at their head: a decree was then passed, declaring, 'that Napoleon had forfeited the throne; that the right of inheritance was abolished in his family; and that the French people and army were absolved from their oaths of allegiance.'

The fallen emperor had, in the mean time, retired

CHAP.
LV.

1814.
Capture of
Paris by
the allies.

CHAP.
LV.
1814.
Departure
of Bona-
parte to
Elba.

with 50,000 men to Fontainebleau; where, on his arrival, he heard of Marmont's capitulation, and the senate's decree: he at first determined to march on Paris with his remaining forces; but being rendered sensible of the hopelessness of that measure, he saw the extent of his calamity, and consented to abdicate in favor of his son: accordingly, Ney and Macdonald, with the duke of Vicenza, went as plenipotentiaries for that purpose; and a conference ensued, at which Talleyrand was present; but it was finally determined to restore the Bourbon dynasty. The two marshals then returned to Fontainebleau, where they arrived at night: Ney was the first to enter the emperor's apartment; and to the question, whether he had succeeded, replied,—‘In part, sire; but not with regard to the regency; it was too late for that: revolutions never give way: this has taken its course, and the senate will recognise the Bourbons.’ The marshal then proceeded to state, that the personal safety of the emperor and his family had been guaranteed; that he would be permitted to retire to the isle of Elba, which was to be possessed by him in full sovereignty; and that an annual stipend of 2,000,000 francs would be allowed for his expenditure: still Napoleon hesitated; and despatched both Ney and Macdonald again to Paris, to defend his interests and those of his family; but no other terms could be procured: Ney then sent in his adhesion to the provisional government; Macdonald returning alone to his fallen master: for he, according to de Bourrienne, ‘was one of those generous spirits, who may be most confidently relied on by those who have wronged them.’ He now presented the treaty to Napoleon, who, having read it without remark, signed, and returned it to the marshal:² they then embraced each other, with tears in their eyes; and Macdonald,

² This document comprised:—1. A repetition of the renunciation, on the part of himself and heirs for ever, of all dominion and sovereignty over France, Italy, and all other countries. 2. A pension of 2,000,000 francs from the revenues of France. 3. Permission to maintain a body guard of 400 men. 4. For his wife and her descendants the sovereignty of the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastella; she, as well as himself, retaining the imperial title. 5. In addition, an income was granted to the Bonaparte family, and to prince Eugene. Napoleon was immediately escorted to Elba, and arrived there May 4th.

having received from the emperor, as a parting memorial, the Turkish sabre which he wore at the battle of Mount Thabor, returned with the treaty to the capital: this was published on the eleventh of April, the same day on which the count d'Artois made his entry into Paris, to act as lieutenant-general of the kingdom, until Louis XVIII. should arrive from England, and accept a constitution prepared by the provisional government: in the mean time, the count concluded a convention with the allies, respecting the cessation of hostilities, and the evacuation of fortresses out of the ancient territory of France.

CHAP.
I.V.
1814.

While these transactions were going on at Paris, Wellington and Soult, whom we left on opposite sides of the Garonne, were engaged in a useless expenditure of blood and valor; for as the French marshal appeared determined to make a final stand before Toulouse, his antagonist resolved to attempt a passage of the river below that city at Grenade: a ponton bridge was accordingly thrown over it; and the third, with the fourth, sixth, and light divisions, were ordered to cross: the passage, however, was so tedious, especially for cavalry, that only a part of the allied army could effect it in the day; and during the night wind and rain caused so sudden a swell in the river, that the pontons were removed, to save them from destruction. The position of our army was then rather precarious; for a part under Wellington was on one side of the river, whilst a detachment under Picton occupied the other; and if Soult had taken advantage of this separation, he might have engaged about 17,000 men with his whole force; but by the eighth, all were united, and in safety.

Advance
of Wel-
lington.

On the tenth of April, day had scarcely broken when the columns of the allied army were moving to their different points of attack: the plan arranged was, that Beresford, who occupied the right bank of the Ers with the fourth and sixth divisions, should cross that river by the bridge of Croix d'Orode, gain possession of Mont Blanc, and march up the stream to turn the enemy's right: in the mean time, the

CHAP.
I.V.

1814.

Spanish corps under Freyre, supported by the British cavalry, was to attack the front; while sir Stapleton Cotton, with his cavalry, followed the marshal's movements: the third and light divisions, under Picton and baron Alten, with the brigade of German cavalry, were to observe the enemy on the lower part of the canal, and draw their attention to that quarter; Hill doing the same on the suburb, to the left of the Garonne.³

Battle of
Toulouse.

The battle commenced on the left and centre of the allied position, in front of the heights occupied by the enemy. Beresford, with the fourth and sixth divisions, moving up the left bank of the Ers, carried the village of Mont Blanc, and then advanced steadily over the ground below the heights, exposed to a tremendous fire of artillery; while the Spaniards marched against the redoubts whence it proceeded: but in this they failed; though they advanced with great courage, till the fire became too appalling to be withstood; when they retreated hastily down the hill, pursued by the enemy. This was a critical moment; for if they had been driven across the Ers, the forces under Beresford would have been cut off: but Wellington, prepared for all emergencies, instantly ordered up the light division and Ponsonby's cavalry, to arrest their flight, and check their pursuers: Beresford, in the mean time, continued his advance; and, having led his columns up to the points of attack, brought them rapidly into line. Then came on a deadly struggle: the ground offered great protection to the enemy's sharp-shooters; while the direction of their artillery was so precise, that every shot mowed down files of the advancing troops; but no fire could appal those veterans: without flinching an instant, they pressed on, gained the summit, and gallantly carried a formidable redoubt on their right flank; but the French carried off their guns to a fortified line farther in the rear. Our divisions, having left their artillery in battery, now sent to hasten it up: but a more serious repulse was inflicted on the famous third

³ Lord Wellington's Dispatch.

or 'fighting division.' Picton had been directed to make a false attack on the bridge of Jumeaux; but heedless of an order distinctly given, and yielding to a rash impetuosity, he attempted to carry strong works over flat ground, exposed to a tremendous fire from batteries, which, when reached, could only be carried by escalade: his noble division therefore was driven back after a useless sacrifice of 400 officers and men; and the commander-in-chief was deprived of the intire services of a corps which he intended to keep in reserve. This movement of Picton is alleged by his biographer to have been generously made by him, after observing the retreat of the Spaniards, and supposing that our left wing under Beresford would be severely pressed.⁴ In the mean time, the battle burst forth with renewed fury on the left, after our light division had succeeded in arresting the Spaniards in their flight, and bringing them up again to the conflict: then Beresford, being joined by the artillery, boldly continued his advance along the ridge. As a considerable space intervened between his two divisions, Soult, in imitation of Napoleon's tactics, endeavored to crush the sixth, before the fourth could arrive to support it; but its brave commander, sir Henry Clinton, not waiting to be attacked, ordered his men to charge the assembling troops: they did so, with a fury that was not to be withstood; yet the French fought resolutely: they even checked the advance of their assailants, though they could not force them to desist: it was a contest of invincible courage against numbers; and numbers were unable to prevail.

The enemy at length fled, after suffering a dreadful carnage, and the fate of the day was decided; though a new order of battle was organised, and another grand effort was made by fresh troops, sent across the canal, to recover the lost ground; but the sixth division again conquered, and the heights were cleared by a combined charge of British and Spaniards: the enemy then retired over the canal, by its fortified bridges; and about four o'clock the battle ceased.

⁴ Life of Picton, vol. ii. p. 308.

CHAP.
LV.

1814.

Armistice
concluded.

Next day, the allied army was again under arms; when lord Wellington sent a flag of truce, calling on the French army to surrender as prisoners of war, to save the city from destruction; but Soult's reply was, 'that he would rather bury himself and his soldiers under its ruins:' knowing, however, that if he delayed much longer he would be unable to escape, he evacuated the place during the night of the twelfth, and took the road to Ville Franque: on the same evening, Wellington received official intelligence of the surrender of Paris: colonel Simon also arrived, charged by the provisional government to notify that occurrence to Soult, who is said to have received the information without any appearance of satisfaction; even refusing to acknowledge the authority by which the notification was sent. An armistice, however, was agreed on: the French marshal, like his brethren, soon afterwards hoisted the white cockade, and declared, in an order of the day, the adhesion of his army to 'the provisional government for the restoration of Louis XVIII. to the throne of St. Louis and Henri Quatre.' Nor was it long before he and his companions had a fresh opportunity of exhibiting their conversion to the right cause; for the duc d'Angoulême visited the army amidst 'universal acclamations of joy, enthusiasm, and homage:' his reception by the troops was described as 'a spectacle at once martial and touching; tears flowed on all sides; while every heart flew to meet a prince deemed worthy to be a descendant of Henri the brave and good: in him they recognised the blood of their legitimate sovereign; and, marching before him, under the lilies of peace, they appeared as if they were celebrating a day of victory. In the mean time, loyalty was not to go without its reward: the marshal was created chevalier of the order of St. Louis, and appointed to command the thirteenth military division.

Previously to this unnecessary effusion of blood at Toulouse, a similar occurrence had taken place at Bayonne, which was blockaded by sir John Hope: the two messengers, in their way from Paris, arriving at Bourdeaux. sent information of the peace to that offi-

cer; but he did not communicate the intelligence to general Thouvenot, who commanded the garrison; scarcely imagining himself justified in doing so, till he should receive the intelligence direct from lord Wellington. In consequence of such delay, the enemy made a furious sortie during the night of the fourteenth; when nearly 2000 men of both sides fell within the trenches, and sir John was severely wounded and taken prisoner: this, however, was the last conflict in the sanguinary struggle, which had drawn the British leopards to the 'sacred territory of France.' The allied troops now went into cantonments, previously to their separation: but it was a hard lot for many of our gallant regiments, who had fought so nobly through the peninsular campaign, to be ordered far away from their beloved country and their anxious friends, for the purpose of taking part in a transatlantic war, unwisely provoked, and grievous in its consequences.⁵

Some short time before these events took place, Bonaparte, apparently making a merit of necessity, but secretly binding him by a treaty favorable to the imperial interests, had set free 'the beloved Ferdinand,' and sent him back a greater curse to Spain, even than his own iniquitous invasion. The council of state had issued a declaration, which was confirmed by the Cortes, objecting to his resumption of the regal dignity, without binding himself, by an oath, to observe the new constitution; while it prohibited the return of those Spaniards in his train, who had accepted offices and honors from the Bonaparte dynasty: trusting, however, to his authority and influence, Ferdinand disregarded these attempts to control him; and resolved to follow his own inclinations, or the advice of favorites: so he secretly entered his dominions by a different route from that which the regency had recommended; proceeding first to Saragossa, and thence to Valencia. In his journey toward this latter place, an incident occurred, highly characteristic of the state of

Liberation
of Ferdi-
nand.

⁵ There is too much truth in the sentence with which colonel Napier finishes his admirable history of the peninsular campaigns. 'Thus the war terminated, and with it all remembrance of the veteran's services.'

CHAP.
LV.

1814.

parties; and which is thus described by the pen of Southey:—‘On the way he was met by his uncle, cardinal Bourbon, whom, as president of the regency, the Cortes had sent for that purpose, but with a strict injunction, that he was not to kiss the king’s hand; because they deemed any such mark of homage inconsistent with their dignity. Ferdinand had been apprised of this; and, as a first and easy trial of his strength, when the cardinal accosted him, he presented his hand, and commanded him to kiss it: the old prelate, who had weakly promised to obey the order of the Cortes which in his heart he disapproved, obeyed the king with better will than grace, after he had shown a wish to avoid the ceremony; but Ferdinand, having thus humbled him, turned his back on him in displeasure, and presently deprived him of his archbishopric.’

The Spanish generals were at first inclined to side with the Cortes against this royal traitor; but it is said by colonel Napier, that they were diverted from their purpose by the influence and authority of the duke of Wellington.⁶ Acknowledged therefore as ‘absolute king’ by an army of 40,000 men, under general Elio, a bigoted, weak, and wicked adviser, he issued two decrees; in which he intimated his intention of sacrificing the interests of those who had so long struggled in his cause, to the benefit of a party, now beginning to acquire great influence: this consisted principally of friends of the ancient system, slaves of superstition and deep-rooted prejudices, who had temporised during the residence of the royal family at Bayonne, and opposed the constitution which was adjusted at Cadiz. Influenced by such counsellors, his majesty annulled every decree of the Cortes, and declared their supporters guilty of high treason: on his arrival at Madrid, he arrested many of the members of that body, with two of the regency, as well as the editors of several periodical journals, without specifying any acts of delinquency: many other arbitrary arrests, also, and imprisonments took place;

⁶ Vol. vi. p. 656.

while Ferdinand seemed determined to bring all things back to their old footing. Having restored the convents, he re-established the Inquisition, under certain modifications; and, while he ordained the restitution of estates belonging to the monastic orders, without any compensation for purchase or subsequent improvement, he concurred with the late assembly in withholding all confiscated lands or goods from supposed traitors: such conduct caused discontent in some quarters, and insurrections in others; but Ferdinand went on with severe measures, and concluded the year by making preparations against the colonies, among which was a compulsory loan on the merchants of Cadiz; passing sentence on state criminals; and rewarding loyalists. One solitary good action which he did, was the abolition of torture.

CHAP.
LV.
1814.

Almost contemporaneously with Ferdinand, Pius VII. returned to Rome, and endeavored to tranquillise his states, by restoring the authority of the church, renewing the festivals, re-establishing the jesuits, and prohibiting meetings of free-masons, or of any other secret society: little did this mild and amiable man, conscientiously attached as he was to the dogmas of his church, and ignorant of their utter incompatibility with freedom and good government, foresee the mischief which he was thus instrumental in perpetuating: still less do they know the astounding evils of priestly domination, who have not witnessed them in the debased character of the Roman states. Shame upon civilized Europe, which restored this unhallowed union of tyranny and superstition, and still permits it to exist! Italy also saw, but with no great satisfaction, the restoration of Victor Emanuel to his capital of Turin: gloomy, bigoted, and austere, he soon yielded himself to the intolerant spirit of the priesthood, and commenced a crusade against all liberal institutions: but connected with this sovereign is a transaction, which, though it reflects no lustre on British annals, must be inserted, in order to complete our account of those efforts for the destruction of Napoleon's power, in which this country took the lead. As soon as the

Affairs of
Italy.

CHAP.
LV.

1814.

French emperor's disasters opened a wider field for its exertion, our navy was again called into requisition; and lord William Bentinck, embarking the British forces which had been long pent up in Sicily, set sail for the shores of Tuscany; from which, after being joined by some native Sicilian and Calabrian troops, he proceeded to Genoa. A descent having been made at a short distance from the city, the ships and gun-boats moved along the coast, in concert with the army; and, while our soldiers seized the advanced posts, the approach of a body of seamen and marines so intimidated the enemy, that they abandoned their batteries, and the whole sea-line without the walls: the forts which guarded the left were quickly taken by our auxiliaries, while the British troops attacked the right with success; and, being thus enabled to reach the most assailable part of the works, prepared themselves for a bombardment of the 'superb city.' To avoid such a calamity, the inhabitants sent deputies to our general, requesting a suspensions of arms for a few days, during which, a confirmation of the rumors of peace might be expected; but lord William evaded the request by replying, that it was incumbent on the French commander to abandon a city which he could not defend, while its besiegers were at liberty to push an advantage which fortune had placed within their reach: the enemy then expressed an inclination to treat; and it was agreed that Genoa should be surrendered to the joint authority of the kings of Great Britain and Sicily, but that every article belonging to the French marine should be delivered up to the British. Beside a large quantity of stores, two ships of the line, with four smaller vessels were found in the harbor; and when possession was taken of the place, lord William, in the name of England, declared 'the Genoese nation restored to that ancient government, under which it had enjoyed liberty, prosperity, and independence;' the old constitution was accordingly re-established; but not long to remain.

About the same time also, those ties which bound

the ancient possessions of Venice in the Adriatic to Napoleon, were loosened or broken: the strongest of the Ionian islands, Corfu, with its impregnable capital, long held out against all solicitations; but in June, its high-minded and brave governor, general Denzelot, hoisted the white flag, and surrendered the citadel to that power which was destined to become its future protector. On the coast of Epirus lay crouched the tiger of Albania, ready to seize the prey which might be left by his British allies: he made his first spring on Parga; but was repelled by some troops which general Campbell had humanely sent from Zante, to secure the ill-fated inhabitants from his atrocious attempts: political chicanery however subsequently delivered up what military skill and bravery had preserved. The state of the Neapolitan realms on the opposite shore, was like that of the heaving ocean at the commencement of a storm: Murat, by his base defection from his brother-in-law, had averted for a time the blow that hung over his own devoted head; but there was a great ferment even in his own states; many, who had severely suffered under the restrictive system which he had been obliged to pursue, were muttering revenge; and the still larger party of Ferdinand's adherents were anxiously longing for the return of the old monarch, with all the ancient abuses and corruptions by which they expected to profit. On the Dalmatian coast, every thing was secured for Austria; which power had also taken advantage of the first opening, to push its legions over the northern Alps, and to fix a heavy yoke once more on the inhabitants of Lombardy.⁶

Just before the grand contest was decided at Paris, the British parliament renewed its deliberations; for which it re-assembled on the twenty-first of March. The first business of importance in the commons, was a motion by the chancellor of the exchequer, for a grant of £2,000,000, on account of the army extraor-

⁶ It is but justice to confess that this yoke has subsequently been much lightened: the disgrace of Austria now consists, not in persecuting her own subjects, but in acting as public executioner to the Roman pontiff.

CHAP.
LV.
—
1814.

Restora-
tion of
Louis
XVIII.

dinaries, in addition to £3,000,000 before voted: when the rupture of negotiations with Napoleon was announced by the regent, the confederated sovereigns were in possession of the French capital, though the event was not then known in England; but as soon as this intelligence arrived, the enthusiastic joy which pervaded all ranks, both in the metropolis and in the country at large, was unbounded. The invitation of the French senate was readily accepted by the legitimate claimant of the crown, who had for many years resided as a private gentleman in this country: from his retirement at Hartwell-house, the seat of sir George Lee,⁷ in the county of Buckingham, Louis repaired to Stanmore; where he was met, on the twentieth of April, by the prince regent, who cordially congratulated him on the happy change in his fortunes: from Stanmore, a long train of gentlemen on horseback, trumpeters, horse guards, and royal equipages, preceded the state carriage, in which sat the restored king, with the duchess d'Angoulême, and the prince regent of England, drawn by eight cream-colored horses; the procession being closed by the magnificent regiments of cavalry which Great Britain still retained in her metropolis: the day was brilliant, and London sent out all its dense crowds to witness this interesting scene. The cavalcade having entered the park by Cumberland-gate, arrived a little before six o'clock in the evening at Grillon's hotel in Albemarle-street, amid the deafening cheers of the populace, and the waving of handkerchiefs by thousands of ladies from the windows: the French monarch then held a court, at which the Austrian, Russian, Spanish, and Portuguese ambassadors, with a multitude of English and French nobility, were present; when the prince regent gave utterance to an elegant and animated speech; congratulating the king in his own name, and that of our nation, on his restoration to his throne. Louis, in a very feeling and expres-

⁷ Now in possession of his descendant John Lee, esq., LL.D., a gentleman of the most liberal and patriotic sentiments, and a great promoter of useful and scientific institutions.

sive answer, acknowledged the uniform kindness with which he had been treated by his royal highness and every member of his illustrious family; declaring, that he should always attribute, under Providence, the restoration of the house of Bourbon, and the re-establishment of a general peace, to the spirit and perseverance of the British cabinet, and the courage and perseverance of the British people: his majesty then, assisted by the prince de Condé and the duc de Bourbon, invested the regent with the highest order of France, taking the riband from his own shoulder, and the star from his breast, for that purpose; expressing also his happiness, that his royal highness should be the first person on whom he had the honor of conferring it: next day these illustrious guests dined at Carlton-house, where a chapter of the order of the garter was held, and the French monarch invested with its insignia: at the same time the king conferred the order of St. Esprit on the duke of York. On the twenty-third, the royal family left London, amid the hearty cheers of its inhabitants; and their passage through Kent resembled that of a triumphal procession: at Dover, they were again met by our regent; and having embarked on board the Royal Sovereign yacht, under convoy of the duke of Clarence in the Jason, they passed the pier-head, with a salute from all the batteries: the prince, who had taken his station at the farthest point of the pier, cheered the vessel as she passed; in which he was joined by a vast concourse of spectators, of all classes, who appeared deeply affected at this interesting scene. As the yacht neared her point of destination, she was saluted by the duke of Clarence's flag-ship, and the other vessels of the fleet: on her entering the harbor, a roar of artillery was heard, which continued for two hours, along the whole coast from Calais to Boulogne; and on the twenty-fourth of April, Louis 'le Désiré,' set his foot on his own territory. He was received at Paris with sincere joy by some, but with hollow demonstrations of it by others; and having rather granted than accepted a constitutional charter, he ascended the throne

CHAP.
LV.
1814.

of his ancestors: one of his earliest acts was the ratification of a treaty with the allied powers, signed on the thirtieth of May; of which the following were the chief articles.

Treaty of
peace.

France preserved her integrity, according to her boundaries in January, 1792; with some additions on the eastern frontier, and in Savoy: as well as with the confirmed possession of Avignon. She recognised the independence, not only of the Netherlands, with their future aggrandisement; but of all the German states, which were to be united by a federal league; of Switzerland; and of the Italian states. She recovered her colonies from England, including even Guadaloupe (to which Sweden laid claims), with the exception of Tobago, St. Lucie, the Isle of France and its dependencies: she engaged not to fortify her places in the East Indies, and to keep no troops beyond those necessary for a police. Malta was to be retained by England. French Guiana was restored by Portugal, with an adjustment of boundaries: in all harbors evacuated by France, the vessels of war and naval stores were to be divided, so that two-thirds should be assigned to that country. The allies magnanimously renounced every sum, for which their governments might have claims on France, for contracts, supplies, and loans of money: she engaged to pay similar demands of private persons; and also promised England to abolish the slave trade within five years. The negotiators were Talleyrand, on the part of France; on that of the allies, lord Castlereagh, Rasumovsky, Metternich, and von Hardenburg.

But while the foundation of the subverted system of European policy was laid afresh, it could not escape notice how much was wanting to complete its intire restoration: accordingly, the monarchs, united in peace as in war, resolved to effect this, if possible, at a congress to be held in the imperial city of Germany, before the close of the present year.

Affairs of
parliament.

The proceedings of our own legislature, after the reduction of Paris, require no great length of detail. A bill introduced by Mr. Goulburn, to restrict the

enjoyment of colonial offices by absent individuals, met with strong opposition from Mr. Creevey; because, under pretence of enforcing occasional residence, it seemed to encourage the grant of places to undeserving persons, who were not disposed to perform the attendant duties; but it was passed by a large majority in each house.

Another bill, introduced by the humane sir Samuel Romilly, for doing away with corruption of blood in cases of traitors and felons, was carried; but it was accompanied by an amendment emanating from Mr. Yorke, and purporting that such a relaxation of the law should not extend to high treason and murder.

The price of corn being at this time high, a measure, the object of which was to prohibit importation, excited much alarm, especially in the manufacturing and commercial districts: its promoters were accused of a design to sacrifice the trading to the landed interest, in order that country gentlemen might keep up high rents. On the fifth of May, sir Henry Parnell moved a resolution, for permitting, at all times, the exportation of grain from any part of the united kingdom: this being carried, a second was proposed for regulating the importation of grain by a schedule, or sliding scale; according to which, when the home price of wheat was on the average at sixty-three shillings per quarter, or under, foreign wheat should be liable to a duty of twenty-four shillings; when the average price was eighty-six shillings, it should be imported duty free; and at all intermediate prices, the same ratio should be preserved: a third resolution was also moved, respecting the warehousing of foreign corn, duty free, for re-exportation. A bill, founded on the first of these resolutions, was passed; but, in consequence of numerous petitions against any alteration in the corn laws, all farther consideration of measures for regulating importation was postponed to another year.

The conduct of the speaker, who, in addressing the regent at the close of last session, had deviated from parliamentary rules, and overstepped the limit of his

CHAP.
LV.
—
1814.

duty, excited strong animadversion; for in noticing the proceedings of the session, he had insinuated, that the advocates of the catholic claims wished to introduce changes subversive of those laws, by which the throne, the parliament, and the government are made fundamentally protestant. Lord Morpeth declared, that it was contrary to usage for the speaker to refer to any motion or bill which had not received the assent of the house; as it might thus become the vehicle of censorious remark, and lead to the irregular exercise of royal influence; and he moved that a resolution to that effect should be adopted. Mr. Abbott endeavored to vindicate his conduct by several precedents; but Mr. Whitbread justly denied the strict analogy of the cases cited, and moved a severe vote of censure on the speaker, for the violation of a solemn trust reposed in him: this, though supported by the eloquence of Mr. Plunkett, was evaded by the house; which readily acquiesced in the opinion of Mr. Banks, that there was no irregularity in recapitulating the principal objects which had engaged its attention.

The apparently harsh treatment of the Norwegians, whose territory was at this time in a transition state, occasioned animated debates in both houses: the eloquence of earl Grey was exerted in their favor; and as a blockade of their ports had been ordered, he moved for an address, requesting the regent's interposition, to rescue that unhappy people from the alternative of famine or subjugation: the arguments adduced in vindication of the transfer were drawn, from a consideration of the war in which Denmark was engaged with Great Britain and Sweden at the time of the treaty; from a cession of the country made by the Danish king; from the policy of arranging a better balance of power in northern Europe; and from the well-founded expectation of a constitutional government under its new possessor: the motion was rejected by large majorities in both houses; but an address proposed in the commons by Mr. Wilberforce, to engage the humanity of the allied powers in the abolition of the nefarious slave-trade, met with general

assent; and a similar resolution was, with equal unanimity, adopted by the peers.

CHAP.
LV.

1814.

In the midst of this session, the agreeable intelligence of pacific treaties concluded at Paris arrived; and when lord Castlereagh presented himself for the first time after his return from the continent, he was received with loud acclamations from all parties in the house: but there was no limit to the enthusiasm excited by the presence of our great general, now raised to a dukedom, with a splendid, but well-merited provision settled on him by parliament. In addition to a former grant of £100,000, the chancellor of the exchequer moved a farther vote of £300,000, for the purchase of an estate for the duke of Wellington; but at the suggestion of Messrs. Whitbread and Ponsonby, the two leading members of opposition, it was increased to £400,000: the house of commons also conferred on his grace the unprecedented distinction of sending a deputation to offer him its thanks, as well as congratulations on his return to his own country; and as the duke expressed a wish to acknowledge the compliment in person, the first of July was appointed for his reception.

On that day, his grace, dressed in a field-marshal's uniform, profusely decorated with orders, entered the house of commons, and was greeted by all the members rising uncovered, and enthusiastically cheering him. The duke then seated himself for a short time in a chair provided for the occasion, and in a brief, sententious speech, expressed his acknowledgements and gratitude to the commons of England: this was followed by loud applause; when the speaker, taking off his hat, addressed their illustrious visitor in very animated and appropriate terms, commenting on his great and splendid actions: the duke then took his leave, bowing as he retired; whilst all the members rose, as at his entrance, uncovered, and cheered him. A motion, made by lord Castlereagh, that the address of his grace, and the speaker's reply, be entered on the journals of the house, was carried by acclamation: grants and peerages were at the same time deservedly bestowed

CHAP.
L.V.
1814.

on the following distinguished officers; sir Thomas Graham, sir William Beresford, sir Rowland Hill, sir John Hope, and sir Stapleton Cotton:⁸ but the absence of one name from this bright list created general dissatisfaction in the country. Where was Picton, the leader of the invincible legion, 'by whose sword the British troops were led to the victorious assault of Ciudad Rodrigo; by whose daring hand the British standard was planted on the castle of Badajos; whose battalions, when the usurper of the Spanish throne was driven to his last stand at Vittoria, filled the centre of that formidable line, before which the troops of France fled in dismay; and by whose skill, prudence, and valor, exerted in a critical hour, the enemy was foiled in his desperate attempt to break through the barrier of the Pyrenees?'⁹ The people of England, it was justly said, were more familiar with his name than with many of those who were exalted to honor; but Picton could not deign to ask, and there were none to speak for him: his own spirited remark, when a friend questioned him on the subject of this omission, was characteristic of the man:—'If the coronet were lying on the crown of a breach, I should have as good a chance as any of them.'¹⁰ As a solace for his disappointment, in missing that reward, which, by universal consent, he had nobly earned, he was now called on to receive the thanks of the house of commons for the seventh time; and these were expressed by the speaker in terms commensurate with his high exploits.¹¹

Visit of the
allied sove-
reigns.

An additional source of joy and exultation was at this time opened to the people of England, in a visit paid to the prince regent by the allied sovereigns of Russia and Prussia. Having crossed the channel, under convoy of the fleet commanded by the duke of Clarence in the *Impregnable*, these illustrious personages landed at Dover; where, as well as in the

⁸ Respectively created lords Lynedoch, Beresford, Hill, Hopetoun and Niddry, and Combermere.

⁹ Address of the speaker to Picton in the house of commons.

¹⁰ *Life of Picton*, vol. ii. p. 323.

¹¹ He had been presented by the officers of his division with a magnificent service of plate, as a testimony of their regard and admiration.

metropolis, they were received with acclamations, more sincere than those with which they had been greeted at Paris. The appearance of field-marshal Blucher at the gates of Carlton-house produced such a burst of public enthusiasm, that no efforts could preserve order: the populace rushed into the court-yard, and even thronged the hall; where they witnessed, with immense applause, the testimonial of regard offered to the general; on whose shoulder the regent fastened a blue riband, to which was hung a miniature portrait of himself, decorated with brilliants: on the following day was held a chapter of the garter, at which the emperor appeared as a knight, and the king of Prussia was admitted a member; the Austrian monarch being installed by proxy. The sovereigns were sumptuously entertained by the city of London; and in a visit to the university of Oxford, they were admitted, together with many other celebrated personages in their train, to honorary degrees. These public pageantries however subjected the prince to some embarrassment and pain: the queen had announced two drawing-rooms, at which the princess of Wales intimated her intention to be present; but her majesty, in reply, stated that her son, the regent, after mentioning the necessity of his own presence at court, desired it to be understood, 'that, for reasons, of which no one but himself could be the judge, he was determined not to meet the princess of Wales on any occasion public or private.' Her royal highness, after a fruitless correspondence on this subject with the queen, addressed her complaints, through the speaker, to the house of commons; and the publication of these wretched quarrels, with the remarks to which they gave rise, subjected the prince to much popular insult, and consequent humiliation in the eyes of his illustrious visitors.¹² Peace was proclaimed with its usual solemnities, on the twentieth of June, and celebrated by a grand military review, at

CHAP.
LV.
— 1814.

¹² Lord Eldon in his anecdote book observes, that the emperor of Russia was in a similar matrimonial predicament with our British prince; and that, on this occasion, when they were in a carriage together, one of the London mob put his head into the window, crying out,—'Where's your wife? where's your wife?' on which the regent is reported to have said,—'Emperor, *that's for you!*'

CHAP.
LV.
1814.

which were present the three rulers of England, Russia, and Prussia, with many of the most distinguished statesmen and generals of the age: a naval review also, at Portsmouth, on the twenty-fourth, exhibited to these potentates the surpassing glory of Britain's bulwark: the fleet, consisting of vessels from the highest to the lowest class, formed a line of seven or eight miles in extent, opposite the Isle of Wight; these, after firing a general salute, slipped their cables, and got under sail with a brisk gale at N. E., the Royal Sovereign leading the van, accompanied by innumerable yachts and pleasure vessels of all descriptions, and presenting one of the grandest sights imaginable. Next morning the royal personages reviewed 7000 troops at Portsdown Hill, and breakfasted with the duke of Richmond at Goodwood; whence they proceeded to Petworth, the seat of lord Egremont, for dinner. On the twenty-sixth they arrived at Dover: and on the following morning the two sovereigns took leave of each other, and of the 'happy shore of England,' as the emperor Alexander emphatically designated it; adding also,—that 'it was the greatest country in the world.' As the yacht which conveyed our imperial guest entered the road of Calais, the frigate which had conveyed thither the king of Prussia, came out with the duke of Wellington on board, who landed next morning at Dover, where he was conveyed to the hotel on the shoulders of the people, amid shouts of acclamation that rent the air.

When the merits of the treaty between this nation and France came to be discussed in the house of peers, a panegyrical address was offered for their assent, which received approbation from the earl of Liverpool: he congratulated their lordships on the conclusion of so desirable a treaty; preferable, he said, to any agreement that would have left the French in a state of weakness and humiliation, to inflame their high spirit: hence they had been favored with some extensions of boundary beyond the line which marked their frontier in the reign of Louis XVI.; and had also recovered their principal colonies: on the other

hand, Great Britain had procured some valuable additions of territory; and had obtained that security which was the great object of the late severe and sanguinary contest: it was also, he added, a flattering consideration, that this country had not, as in some former wars, abandoned its allies; but, by negotiating in full concert with them, had conciliated their applause and gratitude. Lord Grenville expressed a wish that the slave-trade had not been prolonged by any express stipulation; but he trusted that the influence of the approaching congress would be effectually exerted to extinguish that disgraceful traffic: the address was carried without a dissentient voice. When a similar one was proposed in the lower house, Mr. Gooch ventured to remark, that the ultimate success of the war had resulted from a close adherence to the principles of Pitt; from which opinion sir John Newport and Mr. Baring begged leave to dissent: the former of whom denied that the war had been conducted on any fixed and unvarying system; since its grounds and pretences had frequently been changed: the latter even thought that an erroneous policy pursued by the applauded statesman had principally contributed to produce that military monster, which the grand confederation had lately crushed: advertng to the terms of the treaty, he did not complain of a share in the Newfoundland fishery being restored to France; but he was disposed to think that we had been too liberal in our territorial concessions. Mr. Whitbread, while he reprehended the illiberality of those who affected to see wisdom only in the promoters of the war, and error in its opposers, candidly expressed his satisfaction at the conduct of ministers; who, after fairly trying the experiment of negotiation with the late ruler of France, and finding it impracticable, had resolutely pursued more vigorous measures: he even applauded their zeal for restoring the house of Bourbon, as it seemed to afford the best prospect of security to Europe.

CHAP.
LV.
1814.

About this time the increasing animosity between the prince and princess of Wales occasioned great

Affairs of
the royal
family.

CHAP.
LV.
— — —
1814.

agitation in the public mind: nothing had so much tended to render the regent unpopular, as his treatment of his wife, which from personal and unconquerable dislike had descended to persecution: but this unpopularity was now still farther increased by an opinion which prevailed respecting his harsh conduct toward their daughter, who had for some time resided, with a separate establishment, at Warwick-house: on the fourteenth of July, however, she received an unexpected visit from her father, and his command, to take up her abode at Carlton-house, where a retinue was already waiting to attend her: in fact those friendly relations which the circumstances of Europe had established between Great Britain and Holland, as well as the high character which the prince of Orange had obtained, suggested the plan of a marriage between him and the princess; which had been maturely considered and arranged by the regent and his council: the particulars of the convention, with all its necessary guarantees, were drawn up, and communicated by the premier to the lord chancellor;¹³ but these sapient negotiators forgot to consult the principal personage concerned in the transaction; and she had a spirit which defied all those conventional forms of royal alliances which had been observed from time immemorial. At present, however, the only scheme with which she had become acquainted, was that which involved her immediate removal to the paternal roof; and which she was determined, if possible, to defeat. Accordingly, having obtained leave to retire for a few minutes from her father's presence, who was accompanied on this occasion by the bishop of Salisbury, she secretly ran out of the house into the street; and, throwing herself into a hackney coach, proceeded to her mother's residence in Connaught-place: the princess however was not at home to receive her; and when the archbishop of Canterbury arrived, charged with a father's authority to bring his daughter back, he was refused admission: the duke of York and the lord chancellor were next despatched on the same

¹³ Life of Lord Eldon, vol. ii. p. 249.

errand; and after a long time spent in tears, remonstrances, and stipulations, the lady accompanied them to Carlton-house.¹⁴ This conduct of the young princess was referred by the public to the domestic quarrel of her parents: she took part with her mother in the dispute, and continued to see her, as it was understood, clandestinely, notwithstanding the restrictions of the privy council: it was also said, that her rejection of the hereditary prince of Orange, whether brought about by her mother's influence, or by the sudden attachment which she formed for her future husband, provoked the regent's displeasure; while it thwarted the measures of his government: thus she came to be regarded as the victim of the prince's hatred to his wife; and rumours were spread abroad of her being kept under close restraint, even to the prejudice of her health, which was very delicate. The duke of Sussex, having been denied access to his niece, addressed several questions on this subject to ministers, which lord Liverpool declined to answer; except by asserting, that the regent had an absolute right, as well as the best intentions, respecting his daughter; and that in the steps which he had taken, he had only consulted her happiness, dignity, and morals. At length, an end seemed to be approaching to this unhappy state of things: the house of commons, on the motion of lord Castlereagh, had increased the income of the princess of Wales to £50,000 per annum; the sum to which she would have been entitled if she had survived the prince: at her own request, however, this was reduced to £35,000; and she soon afterwards expressed a wish of travelling on the continent; in order, as she observed, that her absence might procure more liberty to her beloved child: the permission which she solicited was readily

¹⁴ This interview, however, should be told in the chancellor's own words:—'When we arrived,' says his lordship, 'I informed her that a carriage was at the door, and we would attend her home: but home she would not go. She kicked and bounced; but would not go. Well, to do my office as gently as I could, I told her that I was sorry for it; for until she did go, she would be obliged to entertain us, as we would not leave her: so at last she accompanied us.'—*Life of Lord Eldon*, vol. ii. p. 253.

CHAP.
LV.

1814.

Fraud at
the stock
exchange.

accorded; and on the ninth of August, this ill-fated and ill-conducted woman left the shores of England.

While some of our national defenders were exalted to high and deserved honors, one, whose zeal and courage in the naval service had obtained great applause, was subjected to severe disgrace. Lord Cochrane, with seven others, had been tried on a charge of conspiracy for creating a fraudulent advance in the price of the funds, by circulating false intelligence respecting the defeat and death of Bonaparte: the scheme was carried into effect, with temporary success, on the eleventh of February; and all the defendants having been found guilty, his lordship was sentenced to pay a fine of £500, to be imprisoned twelve months, and to stand once in the pillory! this latter part of the sentence, however, was properly remitted by the regent. On the fifth of July, the house of commons expelled lord Cochrane by a majority of one hundred and forty to forty-four; though he strenuously asserted his ignorance of the whole plot; while he was placed under great disadvantages, from the peculiar nature of the proceeding, and the conduct of his judge: the citizens of Westminster felt so convinced of his innocence, that they re-elected him, not only without opposition, but with every mark of triumph: his name however was struck from the list of knights of the Bath, and his banner broken. Our national income and expenditure were brought under consideration on the thirteenth of June. In July a bill sent up by the commons to suspend, until next session, the granting of offices in reversion (a similar one having passed in the preceding session), was thrown out of the house of lords, chiefly by the influence of the lord chancellor; who expressed himself strenuously opposed to popular opinion in such matters. The same fate befell a bill sent up to the same place, for rendering the freehold estates of persons dying intestate, liable to their simple contract debts. 'It was always,' said the chancellor, 'in a creditor's power to stipulate for a bond, and then he would have his remedy against his debtor's land; it was better

that he should be left to his own caution and discretion, than that he should sit down in apathy, under a notion that the legislature would take care of his interests. The whole amount of the joint and separate charges for the year were stated at £67,517,478 for England, and £8,107,094 for Ireland; making the total expense £75,624,572! to meet these charges on the public revenue, the taxes and loans of the year, for England, would produce £67,708,545: the exports of the past year had very considerably exceeded those of the most flourishing period: the total amount of loan for 1814 was £24,000,000; being £18,500,000 for England, and of £5,500,000 for Ireland; and, from the terms on which this loan had been negotiated, it might be calculated, that the public would remain charged with the yearly interest on it of £4 12s. 1d. per cent. At the close of this statement, the usual resolutions were read and passed; after a remark from Mr. Ponsonby, that public interests required the property-tax to be abolished on the fifth of April ensuing: apprehensions, however, were entertained that this imposition might be renewed; and the inconclusive answers given by government to inquiries on the subject excited unpleasant sensations throughout the country: the city of London first came forward to petition parliament against its renewal; and the example of the metropolis was so generally followed, that the voice of the people, which, when distinctly and perseveringly raised, must always be attended to, finally prevailed.

In Ireland, peace returned with scarcely any of its expected blessings: the popular mind in that country shared neither the exultation of victory, nor the tranquillity by which it is generally followed; and the Roman catholics, though their blood had flowed freely in the great contest just decided, saw in its conclusion little else but the rejection of their claims, and the continuance of their degradation. Lord Castlereagh, desirous of settling this vexatious question, had concerted a plan with cardinal Gonsalvi, through which it was possible that emancipation might be procured:

Affairs of
Ireland.

CHAP.
LV.

1814.

in consequence, cardinal Quarantotti, a high functionary of the papal government, addressed a rescript to the Irish catholics, authorising and recommending the proposed measure: this consisted in allowing a *veto* to the British government in the appointment of bishops; but the catholics, by the persuasion of their priests, rejected it with indignation; when a renewal of the war of meetings, proclamations, and indictments, accompanied by numerous acts of lawless violence, soon ensued: on the eighth of July, therefore, Mr. Peel, chief secretary for Ireland, proposed to revive a clause of the insurrection act, by which two justices of the peace were empowered to summon an extraordinary session of seven magistrates in any disturbed county; on whose report the lord lieutenant might issue a proclamation, confining all persons in such district to their houses, from sun-set to sun-rise, under penalty of transportation for seven years: other provisions also, sanctioning an employment of the military, domiciliary visits of magistrates, &c., were proposed; all of which, though warmly debated, received the sanction of our legislature; and parliament was prorogued on the thirtieth of July.

We must here briefly notice a treaty made between Great Britain and Holland on the thirteenth of August; by which the latter country gave up the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice; receiving back Batavia, Surinam, Curacoa, and St. Eustace: a closer union between the two nations was contemplated, by means of a royal marriage; but the failure of that measure has been already alluded to.

Congress
of Vienna.

The emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia having made their solemn entry into Vienna, the congress was formally opened on the first of November: there were present, in person, at this august assembly, the emperors of Austria and Russia, the kings of Prussia, Denmark, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg; the elector of Hesse; the grand duke of Baden; the dukes of Saxe Weimar, Brunswick, Nassau, Coburg; and several other princes. The principal ambassadors and

ministers, were, from the pope, cardinal Gonsalvi; from Austria, prince Metternich; from Russia, prince Rasumovsky, with counts Stakelburg and Nesselrode; from Great Britain, lord Castlereagh and the duke of Wellington; from Prussia, prince Hardenburg and von Humboldt; from France, Talleyrand and Dalburg; from Spain, Don Labrador; from Portugal, counts Palmella and Lobo da Silveira; from the Netherlands and Nassau, Spoen and Gagern; from Denmark, Bernstorff; from Sweden, Lowenhielm; from Sardinia, St. Marsan; from Bavaria, baron Wrede and count Rechburg; from Wurtemberg, Winzingerode; from Hanover, counts Munster and Hardenburg; from Saxony, count Schulenburg, &c.

One of the first acts of this congress was to recognise a new regal title annexed to the British crown; that of elector of Hanover not being considered suitable to present circumstances, or to the sixth article of the treaty of Paris respecting the independence of the German states, and their federal union: a general diet therefore assembled in the Hanoverian capital on the fifteenth of December, under the duke of Cambridge, which agreed to the plan of a new constitution, founded on a representative system. In the same month, a protocol from the congress announced to the astounded Genoese, that their venerable republic, contrary to the conditions on which it was occupied by a British force, would be incorporated with the territories of the king of Sardinia: lord Castlereagh expressed the regret of himself and brother ministers, at not being able to preserve to this city a separate existence, without a risk of weakening the system adopted for Italy, and compromising its safety: to this plea of state necessity the ancient republic was obliged to submit; and the wrongs of Corsica were now avenged: the fate of its old rival Venice was similar; and the whole of Lombardy, with its fine capital Milan, being subjected to the leaden yoke of Austria, was doomed to see its natural sources of prosperity drained by the exactions of an imperious master.

The winter in Great Britain this year was unusually

CHAP.
LV.

1814.

Domestic
circum-
stances.

severe; and in February the Thames being completely frozen, a fair was held during several days upon the ice: on the twelfth of the same month the Custom-house of London, with most of the adjoining warehouses, was destroyed by fire; much valuable property in papers, books, bonds, paintings, &c., being destroyed. On the seventh of July, a general thanksgiving was ordered throughout England for the restoration of peace, when the regent and the two houses of parliament went in solemn procession to St. Paul's; the hero of the peninsula walking on the right hand of the prince from the entrance of the cathedral to the choir, preceded by all the royal dukes: and on the first of August was celebrated a grand jubilee in London, to commemorate the same event, as well as the battle of the Nile, and the centenary of the accession of the house of Brunswick; at which time the people of the metropolis were entertained by a fair in the three parks; where fireworks on the grandest scale, with various other exhibitions, took place; and above all, the mimic show of a naval engagement on the Serpentine river: but almost every town and village had its appropriate festival; a banquet being given in booths, or temporary rooms, to the poorer classes, who were generally attended on by the higher orders. In October, a dreadful accident occurred at the brewhouse of Meux and Co., in Banbury-street, St. Giles's, where a vat, containing 3500 gallons of strong beer, burst, and inundated several streets, carrying away the walls of houses, and drowning eight persons: other vats were set running by the accident, and the company lost altogether between eight and nine thousand barrels of liquor: the hoop of the vat thus destroyed, was the least of twenty-two, and of about 700lbs. weight: the seven largest weighed nearly a ton each! This year the trials took place of several degraded persons engaged in writing, publishing, or selling libels on the Holy Scriptures; the beginning, or rather the revival, of a pestilent scheme, which soon proceeded to greater lengths; but which has been effectually counteracted by the strenuous efforts

of the clergy, assisted by respectable members of the laity: on the twenty-seventh of December, died the notorious impostor Joanna Southcott, who had long practised on the credulity of multitudes, giving herself out as a prophetess and the destined mother of the true Messiah: strange to say, a considerable number among our educated classes were numbered as her disciples; and some of the clergy themselves exhibited so lamentable an ignorance of Scripture, as to become the dupes of this impostor.

CHAP.
LV.
1814.

Parliament met again on the eighth of November; being opened by a speech from the prince regent, of which the leading topics were the congress at Vienna, and the pending negotiations at Ghent for the settlement of our differences with America. Adverting to supplies for the ensuing year, his royal highness regretted the necessity of so large an expenditure; and recommended due caution in the adoption of such regulations as might seem necessary for extending the trade of Great Britain, and securing her commercial advantages: the usual addresses were carried without any division; though some hostile allusions to the war with America provoked animadversion from lords Grenville and Darnley, who ascribed our losses on lake Champlain and the high seas to the inefficiency of the British admiralty: no act of peculiar importance was passed at this time; and after a sitting of three weeks, the houses adjourned to the ninth of February.

It only remains that we take a brief review of the contest which was still going on between Great Britain and the United States; and which, while the combined armies of Europe were marching to the proud city of Paris, was an object of secondary interest: it now began to assume a higher degree of importance. Several attempts at reconciliation were made, but in vain; since each country imputed to its adversary the origin of the war, and the responsibility of continuing it: after all, however, the chief cause and continuance of this unfortunate quarrel rested on a matter of punctilio. The limits of the right of blockade are

Campaign
in Ame-
rica.

CHAP.
LV. —
1814.

fixed, by the law of nations, on grounds which authorise no serious dispute; and with regard to the impressment of seamen, America did not deny that Great Britain had a right to claim her own subjects; while our government pretended to none for impressing any that were really American citizens: the whole dispute then regarded the means of asserting these rights; and if the ministers of both countries had sought for peace in a proper spirit, that blessing might surely have been obtained: such however unfortunately was not the case. On the seventh of January, the president communicated to congress copies of letters which had passed between lord Castlereagh and Mr. Monroe; in which the former proposed to appoint commissioners to treat about terms of peace, either at London or Gottenburg; which proposal was accepted, and Gottenburg appointed as the place of meeting: the negotiations, however, which were removed to Ghent, did not commence till the following August; and then proceeded with little prospect of success, although the restoration of peace in Europe had removed the principal causes of difference: in one country, a strong hankering after Canada stimulated the zeal both of governors and people; in the other, an opportunity of employing its victorious veterans to punish those who had apparently taken advantage of its necessities, excited the passion of revenge: each party, however, was doomed to experience a signal disappointment.

Early in February, the American general Wilkinson, abandoning his position on the frontier of Lower Canada, moved his head-quarters to Burlington and Plattsburg, after partially destroying block-houses and barracks erected at a great expense; the demolition of which, with a quantity of stores, was completed by a pursuing British detachment: he subsequently attacked a post commanded by major Hancock; but was repulsed with considerable loss: the fort of Oswego, on lake Ontario, was reduced by sir James Yeo and general Drummond, early in May; an achievement, which was chiefly serviceable, by retarding the equipment of the enemy's armament on that water. The

English commodore long blockaded Sackett's Harbor, in a vain hope of co-operation from general Prevost; but on the return of Chauncey his able opponent, with a superior force, he reluctantly retired to Kingston: the Americans then became assailants; and a formidable force under general Brown crossing the Niagara, compelled the garrison of Fort Erie to become prisoners of war: they then attacked our lines at Chip-pawa; and after a sharp action, in which their troops appeared to have improved both in courage and discipline, the British commander, general Riall, whose strength was much inferior, retreated on Fort George: this officer, however, having been joined by general Drummond on the twenty-fifth of July, the enemy was in his turn defeated, and compelled to take refuge under the cannon of Fort Erie. About Midsummer, a numerous fleet arrived in the river St. Lawrence from Bourdeaux, with a large body of those soldiers, who, under Wellington, had raised the military reputation of their country to its highest pitch; but not until the third of September did sir George Prevost determine to enter the American territory; advancing cautiously with 12,000 excellent troops against Plattsburg on Lake Champlain, in conjunction with a flotilla under captain Downie: the defences of that place were no better than slight field works, still unfinished; the garrison consisted of about 4000 men, chiefly raw militia: but he was in vain urged to an immediate assault, alleging the necessity of naval co-operation. Captain Downie reached Plattsburg on the eleventh of September, and instantly commenced an attack, in full confidence that the land-works would be assailed at the same time; but his signals were not answered: that brave officer fell early in the action; while his squadron maintained the fight, till it was completely overpowered by the naval force of the enemy, combined with an incessant fire from the works; when the ships were either destroyed, or compelled to strike. Our commander-in-chief at length commenced his reluctant and long-delayed assault; but almost immediately withdrew, amid the loud reproaches of his

CHAP. troops, leaving behind him a vast quantity of stores;
 LV. while his whole loss in killed and wounded did not
 1814. exceed 200 men. This disaster closed the campaign,
 if so it could be called, in Lower Canada; when by
 the exertions of general Drummond, wholly unaided
 by the commander-in-chief, the Americans were finally
 compelled to evacuate Fort Erie, with the whole of
 the Niagara shore in Upper Canada: sir James Yeo
 did not hesitate to prefer a direct accusation against
 sir George Prevost, for neglect of duty and miscon-
 duct; in consequence of which he was recalled, but
 did not live to undergo a trial.

Military operations on the coasts of the southern
 states had hitherto been rather of a harassing and pre-
 datory kind, than directed to any important object;
 but it was now resolved to strike a blow in that quar-
 ter which might produce an influence on the state of
 the war. A large naval force, under vice-admiral sir
 Alexander Cochrane, having on board a strong body
 of troops commanded by major-general Ross, was in
 the Chesapeake at the beginning of August, waiting for
 the arrival of rear-admiral Malcolm, with an expedition
 from Bermuda: the junction having taken place, our
 admiral was informed by rear-admiral Cockburn, that
 the American commodore Barney, with the Baltimore
 flotilla, had taken shelter at the head of the Patuxent:
 of this circumstance therefore they determined to
 profit, by ascending the river, with a declared purpose
 of attacking Barney, while their real object was the
 city of Washington. On the nineteenth and twentieth
 of August, our army being landed, general Ross began
 his march toward the American capital; since the
 enemy's force for its protection had been ascertained
 to be such as would justify an attempt to take it by a
coup de main: arriving, on the twenty-fourth, within
 five miles of the city, he found the republicans, in
 number about eight or nine thousand, strongly posted
 to dispute his advance: an attack was immediately
 ordered; and was made with so much impetuosity,
 that the enemy soon fled, totally dispersed; so that
 the British army reached Washington in the evening

Capture of
 Washing-
 ton.

CHAP.
LV.
1814.

of the same day; and the work of destruction, though not the main object of the expedition, soon commenced. The public buildings committed to the flames, were the capitol, including the senate-house and house of representatives; the president's palace; the arsenal, dock-yard, treasury, war-office, rope-walks, and great bridge across the Potomac: a frigate ready to be launched, and a sloop of war in the dock-yard, were also consumed; but private property was respected, and strict discipline observed among the troops.¹⁶ On the following night a retreat commenced; and our army having met with no molestation on its return, was re-embarked on the thirtieth. Connected with this enterprise was the destruction of Fort Washington, on the Potomac, below the city; which was effected on the twenty-seventh by captain Gordon, of the Sea-horse frigate, accompanied by other vessels; and its fall left Alexandria, on the same river, without protection: that officer then advanced against the city, and placed his ships so as to force compliance with any terms he chose to offer. The conditions assented to were, that the town should be spared, with the exception of its public works; and the inhabitants unmolested, on their giving up all naval and ordnance stores, as well as all ships, with their furniture, and merchandise of every description: twenty-one of the vessels were fitted for sea, and loaded on the twenty-first; when captain Gordon, having learned that preparations were making to oppose his return, quitted

¹⁶ Much obloquy has been cast on the British army on account of this conflagration, which has been assimilated to the inroads of the most barbarous and savage tribes. Greatly as it is to be regretted, the chief blame of the action rests with the republicans themselves: it was not intended to attempt a permanent conquest; and as the general was aware that he could not establish himself long in an enemy's capital, his object was to lay it under contribution, and then withdraw quietly to the ships; and in this there was nothing derogatory to his own honor, or contrary to the laws of war. Such being the intention of general Ross, he halted his troops in a plain near Washington, while a flag of truce was sent in with the terms proposed: but whatever the proposal might have been, it was not heard; for the party bearing the flag had scarcely entered the street, when they were fired on from some windows, and the horse of the general, who himself accompanied them, was killed. After conduct so unjustifiable, all thoughts of accommodation were instantly cast aside: the troops advanced into the town; and having first put to the sword all who were found in the house whence the shots were fired, and reduced it to ashes, they proceeded to burn and destroy every thing in any way connected with the republican government.

CHAP.

LV.

1814.

Alexandria, without waiting to destroy the stores which he could not carry away, and brought back his squadron and prizes safely to the Chesapeake.

The American president now issued a proclamation, in which he spoke of the devastation committed at Washington as a measure of extreme and barbarous severity; declaring that the British naval commander on that station had avowed his purpose of destroying and laying waste such towns and districts on the coast as were assailable, under a pretext of retaliation for ravages committed in Upper Canada; though none such had occurred but what had been shown to be unauthorised: he then called on all officers to be alert and vigilant in providing means of defence.

Attempt
against
Baltimore.

Admiral Cochrane and general Ross next concerted the plan of an attempt against Baltimore, one of the most considerable ports in the United States. On the twelfth of September our troops, having landed about eighteen miles from the city, advanced along a peninsula between two rivers; and as their vanguard became engaged with the enemy's riflemen, covered by woods, general Ross received a mortal wound: he instantly sent for colonel Brooke, his second in command, to whom he gave some instructions; and after recommending his wife and children to the protection of his country, calmly expired: nor have many fallen in battle more generally beloved for their private character, or more admired for their professional abilities.

The van now pressed on, driving the enemy's light troops forward, till it arrived within five miles of Baltimore; where a corps of 6000 men was descried, posted behind a palisade across the road: these were immediately attacked and dispersed with great loss; when our army halted for the night: advancing next day, it took a position about a mile and a half from the city; the hills surrounding which were occupied by a chain of palisaded redoubts and other works; defended, as it was said, by 15,000 men: an attack was, however, planned by the British commander; when a message arrived from the admiral, acquainting him that the harbor was closed in such a manner with

sunken vessels, and defended by batteries, that it was impossible to bring up our ships to act as had been concerted: it was therefore the opinion of both officers, that the chance of success in farther operations was not adequate to the hazard of failure; and after the army, in its retreat, had halted for some time, to give the enemy an opportunity of coming up, which was declined; the troops were re-embarked.

Toward the end of this year a very important but disastrous expedition was sent to Louisiana, where it was expected that its capital, New Orleans, would be taken unprepared: it happened, however, not only that the secret transpired, but that the best soldier produced by America since the days of Washington, held the command in that district: he had already distinguished himself in repressing the atrocities of the Creek Indians, and in disconcerting the schemes of the Spaniards in West Florida, who were taking an active part in hostilities against their neighbors: early in the year, general Jackson,¹⁷ anticipating danger, had urged the surrounding states to make immediate preparations; and having secured Fort Mobile, as well as taken possession of Pensacola on his own responsibility, he arrived at New Orleans on the first of December: its population however was not easily excited to that degree of energy which the exigency of affairs demanded; and his principal dependence, to meet a large body of highly disciplined British troops, was on the volunteers of Kentucky and Tennessee, whom he had summoned to his aid; but his first measure was to co-operate with commodore Patterson, who commanded a small naval force, in fortifying, as far as their means would allow, all approaches to the city. New Orleans, destined perhaps to be at some future period the greatest mart of the world, is situated on the eastern bank of that mighty 'father of rivers,' the Mississippi, about 104 miles from the Gulf of Mexico: though in itself unfortified, it is difficult to conceive a place capable of presenting greater obstacles to an invader; being built on a neck of land, confined

¹⁷ He was afterwards twice elected president of the United States.

CHAP.

L.V.

— 1814.

on one side by the river, and on the other by impassable swamps: all the tract of country about the main stream of the Mississippi, to the distance of thirty miles at least from its mouth, is an impenetrable morass; while the channel itself is so defended by forts, as to avert every danger of invasion from that quarter: but to the east of the city, are the lakes of Pontchartrain and Borgne, connected with each other by a stream called the Iberville, the principal eastern outlet of the Mississippi. At this point, the British, under admiral sir A. Cochrane and general Keene, determined to make their attempt; since it was thought possible to effect a landing somewhere on the banks of Lake Borgne; and by a quick movement, to gain possession of the city before effectual means could be taken to secure it: with this view, our troops were removed into lighter vessels; and being conveyed by such gun-brigs as would float on its waters, began on the thirteenth of December to enter the lake: they had not however proceeded far, before it was seen that the Americans were acquainted with their intentions; five large cutters, carrying six heavy guns each, and built expressly to act on the lake, appeared at a distance; and these were to be captured before a landing could be thought of: as soon however as our cruisers made sail, the Americans ran quickly out of sight, leaving their pursuers fast aground: as it was necessary however to take them at all hazards, and as the lightest of our craft would not float where they sailed, many launches and ships' barges were got ready for that purpose.

This flotilla, commanded by captain Lockyer, a brave and skilful officer, consisted of fifty open boats, most of them armed with a carronade, and all manned with volunteers from our ships of war: as they approached the enemy under great disadvantages of wind and tide, they were greeted by a tremendous shower of balls, which sunk some, and disabled others; but the rest being pulled with great exertion, and occasionally returning the fire from their carronades, succeeded, after an hour's labor, in closing with their opponents:

CHAP.
LV.

1814.

the marines then opened a destructive fire of musketry; while our seamen, sword in hand, sprang up the sides of the vessels, and sabring all that stood in their way, quickly pulled down the American ensign, and hoisted the British flag in its place. One cutter, bearing the commodore's broad pennant, was not so easily mastered; but against this, captain Lockyer had directed his own barge, and soon found himself alongside her before any of his friends could come up to his support: undismayed however by these fearful odds, he led his gallant crew instantly on board the American; when a desperate conflict ensued, in which he himself received several severe wounds; but after fighting from bow to stern, the enemy were mastered; and other boats coming up, the commodore also was taken.

All opposition in this quarter being overcome, our fleet again weighed anchor; but ship after ship took the ground, until it became necessary to hoist out boats for the purpose of carrying the men: at this time too, a dreadful change of weather occurred; and heavy rains, such as are known only in tropical climates, fell continually on the troops during ten hours, while they were confined in such straitened quarters. After rowing thirty miles, each division was landed on a small and swampy spot of earth, called Pine Island; where it was determined to collect the forces, before their transportation to the main land: on that miserable desert they assembled without tents or huts, or any defence against the inclemency of the weather; and even without fuel to supply their fires: in addition to these miseries, when night came on, and the heavy rain ceased, a severe frost set in, which congealing the wet clothes on their limbs, left scarcely any animal warmth in their bodies; and many of the wretched negroes, who formed two regiments, and who were totally unacquainted with frost and cold, fell into a deep sleep, from which they never awoke. On the part of our navy, these hardships were more than doubled; for night and day boats were pulling from or to the fleet; and the twenty-first

CHAP.
LV.

1814.

arrived, before all the troops were put on shore: as there was little time to inquire in the men's turns, many seamen were kept four or five days successively at the oar: here then commenced the hardships of this dreadful campaign, which probably have never been surpassed in the annals of warfare; yet not a complaint or a murmur was heard; and among all, from the general down to the lowest private, a confident anticipation of success prevailed: this, as well as the prospect of an ample reward in the rich store-houses of New Orleans, was kept up by American deserters, or spies; who also entertained our men with false accounts of the alarm experienced by the citizens, and the absence of all means of defence.

On the twenty-second, before our troops crossed over to the main land, they were reviewed by general Keene, who formed three battalions of the fourth, eighty-fifth, and ninety-fifth regiments, into an advanced guard under colonel Thornton; attached to which corps was a party of rocket-men, and two light three-pounders: the rest of the forces were arranged in two brigades; the first, under colonel Brooke; and the second, under colonel Hamilton: to each a certain proportion of rockets and artillery was allotted; while the dragoons attended on the general, until they should provide themselves with horses.

From Pine Island to that spot where prudence dictated a landing, the distance was still about eighty miles: the danger therefore of separating into divisions was great; but it could not be obviated: accordingly, the advanced brigade, of 1600 men, was embarked on the twenty-third; the boats being directed to a small creek, called the Bayo de Catalina, which runs up from Lake Pontchartrain, through an extensive morass about ten miles below New Orleans: during the whole time till night, rain fell incessantly; and was, as usual, succeeded by a sharp frost, which rendered the limbs of the men quite powerless: in this state, they remained till midnight,

when the boats cast anchor, and awnings could be erected: at the entrance of the creek was an enemy's piquet, all of whom were surprised fast asleep; so little did they dream of attack from this quarter: the boats then rowed to the head, and our men disembarked on a wild marsh, covered with rushes and tall reeds, where not a house or any vestige of human industry could be discovered: yet this spot, savage as it was, proved favorable to the party, whose motions it concealed; and hopes were entertained, that they would be suffered to remain quiet till joined by the other brigades. These anticipations, however, were soon found to be fallacious; the deserters, or more properly deceivers, assured our commander, that he had only to show himself, and the whole district would submit: for that there were not 5000 men in arms throughout the state, and of those only 1200 were regulars; while the whole were expecting his attack on the opposite side of the town: these arguments, added to the uncomfortable nature of his present position, induced the general to push forward; and after an advance of several hours, the troops approached a more cultivated region, where some orange groves and a few farm houses appeared: the inmates of these were secured as quickly and as secretly as possible; one man however contrived to effect his escape; after which, all hope of concealment departed, and the column was directed to widen its files, in order to present as formidable a front as possible. After hastening for about a mile over a narrow plain, bounded on the right by that extended marsh which they had lately quitted, and on the left by the mighty Mississippi, rushing rapidly in a stream about one hundred fathoms deep, and a mile in breadth, the whole detachment turned off into a green field, in which was a large house surrounded by about a score of slave huts; and at a little distance farther, another lone habitation, where general Keene fixed his head-quarters: noon had passed, when the word was given to halt; and here the troops were suffered to light fires, and pile their arms: this done, they cooked

CHAP.
I.V.
1814.

some provisions, which they had collected; and with the exception of a few slight alarms from small parties of horse, nothing occurred to disturb their tranquillity: when the shades of evening fell, the fires were made to blaze more brightly; supper was despatched; and the men prepared themselves for rest: but a little before eight o'clock, the attention of some was drawn to a large vessel which seemed to be stealing up the river, till she came opposite to the British station; when her anchor was dropped, and her sails were leisurely furled. Various were the opinions entertained of this stranger: she was hailed; but no answer was returned: all idea of sleep however was now laid aside; and several musket shots were fired, of which not the slightest notice was taken: until at length, all her sails being fastened, and her broadside swung toward our camp, a voice was distinctly heard, exclaiming, 'give them this for the honor of America:' the flashes of her guns instantly followed, and a shower of grape-shot swept down numbers among the British troops: an incessant cannonade was then kept up, which could not be silenced; for our people had no artillery, and the few rockets that were discharged, deviated so much from their object, as to afford only amusement for the enemy: under such circumstances, therefore, all were ordered to leave their fires, and shelter themselves under the dykes; where they lay, each as he could find room, listening in painful silence to the iron hail among the huts, and to the shrieks and groans of those that were wounded.

The night was dark as pitch; the fires were all extinguished, and not an object was visible, except during momentary flashes of the guns, when a straggling fire called attention toward our piquets, as if some still more dreadful scene was about to open: nor was it long before suspense was cut short by a tremendous yell, and a semicircular blaze of musketry, which showed that our position was surrounded by a superior force; and that no alternative remained but to surrender, or to drive back the assailants: the first of these plans was instantly rejected; for our troops.

rushing from their lurking places, and dashing through their bivouac, under heavy discharges from the vessel, lost not a moment in attacking the foe, without the slightest attention to order, or the rules of disciplined warfare: the combat, which was left to individual valor and skill, lasted till three in the morning; and though the enemy was finally repulsed, no less than 500 of our finest troops and best officers were left on the field: the rest then retired to their former hiding places, to be out of reach of their enemy on the river; which, when daylight appeared, was discovered to be a fine schooner of eighteen guns, crowded with troops. In the cold dykes, however, our men were compelled to remain the whole ensuing day, without fire and without food; for whenever the smallest number began to steal away from shelter, the vessel opened her fire.

In the mean time, the remainder of our troops were disembarking in haste to rejoin their comrades; and as the schooner's guns were heard at the distance of at least twenty miles over the water, and in the silence of the night, the most strenuous exertions were made by the boats' crews: nor was a moment lost in returning to the island; so that the whole army was brought into position before night on the twenty-fourth; but our advanced brigade was still fettered to the bank, while another large ship cast anchor about a mile from their annoying foe: as soon, however, as darkness had set in, a change of position was effected, and the division was stationed in the village of huts: the front of the army being then covered by a strong chain of outposts, all remained quiet during the night: and next day general Keene was relieved from farther care and responsibility by the unexpected arrival of sir Edward Pakenham and general Gibbs; the former of whom had been despatched from England, to take the chief command, as soon as the death of general Ross was known. The arrival of Pakenham, adored as he was by the army, elicited the utmost enthusiasm; and he had scarcely reached the camp, before he proceeded to examine, with a soldier's eye, every point of attack or defence.

CHAP.
LV.
1814.

Of the American army nothing could be seen but a corps of 500 mounted riflemen, hovering about the British front, and watching every motion: the city was not in sight; and no advance could be made, until the vessels on the river were disposed of: as delay was now dangerous, nine field-pieces, two howitzers, and a mortar, were brought down to the bank as soon as it became dark; a battery was quickly thrown up against the schooner; and at dawn, on the twenty-sixth, a heavy cannonade was opened on her with red-hot balls: nor was it long before her crew was seen hastening into their boats; while the smoke first, and then the flames, began to rise from her decks; and, in about an hour, she blew up: the guns were then turned against the ship; but not wishing to share the fate of her comrade, she set up every inch of canvass; and being impelled both by sailing and towing, succeeded in getting out of the range of shot. All apparent obstacles being now removed, the army advanced to a more forward position; while arrangements were quietly made during the day till sunset: but from that period until near dawn the whole time was spent in wakefulness and alarm; for republican riflemen harassed our piquets; fired on the sentinels, as well as officers who went the rounds; and, disregarding the usages of civilised warfare, thought only of diminishing the number of their enemies by picking off every individual whom they could reach. As soon as day began to break, they retired; and the British formed in two columns: the right, under Gibbs, took post near the skirts of the morass, throwing out its skirmishers across the plain; while the left, under Keene, drew up on the road near the river, and was covered by the rifle corps, which extended itself to meet the skirmishers of the right column: with this division went the artillery; and at a given signal, the whole moved forward in high spirits, for about four or five miles, without the slightest check. At length they came in view of the republican army, advantageously posted behind a canal, which ran from the morass to within a short distance of the road: along its line were for-

midable breastworks; while on the road, and at various other points, were powerful batteries, aided by a large flotilla of gun-boats on the river, flanking its position. As our left column passed a few houses, built at a turning of the road, which concealed the enemy from view, it was suddenly checked by a destructive fire from the battery and shipping: scarcely a bullet passed over, or fell short of its mark; but striking full into the midst of the British ranks, made dreadful havoc: the houses also on the left, which had been purposely filled with combustibles, were now fired by red-hot shot; so that, while complete ranks were mowed down by artillery, the survivors were scorched by flames, or half suffocated with smoke: our troops, however, were not long suffered to remain in this situation; for, being ordered to quit the path, and form in the fields, artillery was brought up against that of the enemy; but being inferior both in number of guns and weight of metal, it was soon obliged to retire with great loss. The infantry having formed in line, now advanced under a heavy discharge of round and grape shot, till they were stopped by the canal, the depth of which could not be ascertained: they were therefore ordered to take shelter in a wet ditch, sufficiently deep to cover the knees; where, leaning forward, they concealed themselves, as well as they could, behind some high rushes on its brink: in the mean time, the advance of our right column had been stopped by similar impediments; and nothing seemed advisable but to withdraw the troops from their perilous situation: a party of courageous seamen were employed to remove the dismounted guns, which service they effected under the whole fire of the enemy; and then regiment after regiment stole away, amid discharges similar to those which had saluted their approach; retiring to a position in the plain, about two miles from the enemy's works. In this situation they unaccountably remained inactive, from the twenty-eighth to the thirtieth of December; though, if an attack was to be renewed, it never could have been supposed that such a commander as general Jackson would neglect to strengthen

CHAP.
LV.
1814.

or complete his lines: indeed workmen were observed busily occupied in this very operation; while numerous reinforcements continually arrived in his camp: neither did he, during this period, leave his antagonists in tranquillity; for by giving an elevation to his guns, he contrived to reach our entrenchments; and he began also to erect batteries on the opposite or right bank of the river, whence a flanking fire could be thrown across the whole front of his position: his defences could not now be turned, nor his troops be drawn from them; so that nothing remained to be done, but to erect breaching batteries and assault his works: this plan therefore was adopted; three days being employed in bringing up heavy cannon, and making such preparations as might have sufficed for a siege.

On the night of the thirty-first, one-half of our army was marched to the front, within three hundred yards of the enemy's position: favored by the darkness, and working in cautious silence, they succeeded in throwing up, before dawn, a work,¹⁸ on which thirty pieces of heavy cannon were mounted; and then, falling back to a short distance, they lay down behind some reeds, to act as circumstances might require. The next morning was very hazy; and when the mist gave way, the different American regiments were plainly discerned on parade, in their holiday suits, and with every demonstration of gait and gala; when the British batteries opened, and suddenly all was consternation and confusion: but their artillery soon rallied, and answered ours with quickness and precision: toward the close of day our ammunition began to fail, when the fire of the republicans was redoubled; and being aided by a large number of guns landed from their flotilla, as well as by batteries on the right bank of the Mississippi, the British were finally obliged to desert their works.

The fatigue undergone by officers and men was almost beyond conception: for two nights and days,

¹⁸ In throwing up this work, barrels of sugar, to the value of several thousands of pounds, were used instead of earth.

no one had closed his eyes, except he were cool enough to sleep amid showers of cannon balls; and during the day, scarcely a moment could be allowed even for the troops to break their fast: but now, having retreated from an impracticable attempt, they were exposed not only to the fire in front, but to a deadly discharge of eighteen pieces of artillery from the opposite bank of the river, which swept the whole line of encampment: besides, the duty of a piquet guard became more dangerous than that of a general action, on account of the enemy's sharp-shooters; and to approach a fire was certain death, from the facility of aim which it gave to the foe: in such circumstances, it was not surprising that murmurs were raised among our men; but these proceeded rather from irritation at the impossibility of bringing their opponents to action, than from any other motive: nor was their gallant leader less anxious to fight, though desirous of engaging on equal terms, if possible; and to effect this, he devised an admirable plan. Dividing his army, he resolved to send one part across the Mississippi, which might seize the enemy's battery, and turn it against them, while the other made a general assault on their lines: to effect this, however, it was necessary to cut a canal for boats, from the lake, across the intire neck of land, to the river: the fatigue endured by the troops in this undertaking cannot adequately be described: still it was effected; and while the Americans received a reinforcement of 2500 men from Kentucky, the British general Lambert unexpectedly arrived with two fine regiments, the seventh and forty-third; which, with a body of sailors and marines, increased our force to about 8000 men, of all arms.

On the sixth of January, boats were ordered up for the transport of 1400 troops; and colonel Thornton was appointed to lead Picton's 'fighting rascals' of the eighty-fifth, the marines, and a party of sailors, across the rapid 'father of streams:' the soil however through which the canal ran, was so rotten, that it shelved in; and no more boats than a number capable of carrying 350 men, were able to reach their destination: accord-

CHAP.
LV.
1814.

ing to orders, colonel Thornton was to embark and cross the river immediately after dark, push forward, carry the batteries, and point the guns before daylight; then, at a rocket signal, to commence firing on the enemy's line, which at the same moment was to be attacked by our main body, divided into three columns: general Keene, at the head of one, was to make a feint on the right; general Gibbs, with the other, to force the republican left; while general Lambert remained with the seventh and forty-third in reserve, to act as circumstances might require: scaling ladders and fascines had been also prepared, and given in charge to the forty-fourth regiment, as being numerically strong, and accustomed to American warfare: thus all things were arranged on the night of the seventh; and next day the fate of New Orleans was to be decided.

Siege of
New
Orleans.

While the rest of our army lay down to sleep until they should be roused by their drums and bugles, colonel Thornton, with 1400 chosen troops, advanced to the river side: there however he found his commander's scheme impracticable; the boats had not arrived; and at last, some hours after the appointed time, only a few came up: determining however to try what could be effected, he crossed with a small force of 240 men, though they could not leave the canal till dawn was beginning to appear: it was in vain that they rowed like men in despair; that they effected their disembarkation in safety, and formed on the beach: day had already broke; the British army had advanced; and the signal rocket was sent up, while they were still four miles from the batteries, which ought to have been stormed soon after midnight. Nor was this the only disappointment which the gallant Pakenham experienced: when the troops stood in battle array, not a ladder or fascine was to be found in the field; for the forty-fourth had neglected to bring them: the indignation of sir Edward was extreme; galloping up to colonel Mullens, who, as it appeared, had been panic-struck, he commanded him to return instantly with his regiment for the ladders; but the opportunity of planting them was gone for ever: our troops were

now visible to the foe; a dreadful fire was opened on them; and they were mowed down by hundreds, while they stood waiting for orders. All his arrangements being thus frustrated, Pakenham gave the word to advance; and the other regiments, leaving the forty-fourth behind, rushed to the assault: on the left, a detachment carried an advanced battery, and attempted to cross the ditch by a single plank into the lines; but they were repulsed by superior numbers. On the right, where the twenty-first and fourth were almost cut to pieces, the ninety-third advanced, and took the lead: rushing impetuously on, our men soon reached the ditch; but to scale the intrenchment without ladders was impossible: some few, mounting on each other's shoulders, succeeded in clearing the parapet, to their own destruction; while those that stood without, were exposed to a sweeping fire, which cut them down by companies: they fell too, without seeing their opponents; for the Americans, not even raising their heads above the ramparts, swung their firelocks by one arm over the wall, and fired directly down upon their assailants; while the batteries on the farther bank of the river kept up a dreadful flanking cannonade. Pakenham did all that could be done to rally his broken troops: riding toward the forty-fourth, which had returned to the field, though in much confusion, he called out for colonel Mullens to advance; but that officer was no where to be found: he therefore put himself at their head; and instantly received a slight wound in his knee from a bullet which killed his horse: mounting another charger, he again headed the regiment; when a second ball took effect more fatally, and this brave man fell lifeless into the arms of his aide-de-camp: nearly at the same time, both Keene and Gibbs, were carried off the field severely wounded; and the army, without leaders, ignorant of what was to be done, hesitated, retreated, and finally quitted the scene in complete disorder.

On the other side of the river, colonel Thornton's party had landed, driven in an outpost, and stormed the enemy's works under a dreadful discharge of grape

CHAP.
I.V.—
1814.

and canister-shot, by which their leader was wounded; but the failure of the main body rendered a retreat necessary: this movement was effected with great skill, under cover of some houses that were set on fire; and the little corps, entering their boats, reached the opposite bank without molestation.

As soon as the British army was re-united, a flag of truce was despatched with proposals to bury the dead, and two days for that purpose were granted; when, according to the testimony of an eye-witness, one of the most shocking and humiliating sights which an Englishman could view, disclosed itself; for at one spot, within the small compass of some hundred yards, were gathered together nearly a thousand bodies, all arrayed in the British uniform; not a single American among them. In our camp, gloom and discontent, or indignation and rage prevailed; nor was the loss of friends less afflicting than that of honor: almost every one had to bewail a comrade; for between two and three thousand men had fallen: yet, though afflicted, they were not disheartened; nay, they even anticipated with eagerness a renewal of the combat; but general Lambert prudently determined not to risk the safety of his army on works that were impregnable; especially as the chance of success was materially diminished by recent losses: he prepared therefore for a retreat, while it was yet practicable; but during several days after the battle his camp was harassed by continual discharges of artillery, both in front, and from the banks of the river; nor could his men ever close their eyes without being awakened by the splash of a round shot or shell in the mud: moreover, no roads lay open except over deep morasses; and hurdles could not be obtained to form them: reeds therefore were substituted; and the army, after incredible sufferings and fatigues, from cold, and hunger, and want of rest, at length arrived at the borders of lake Borgne: even then they were without tents; and the morass was their only bed: the flotilla was eighty miles distant; only a part of the troops could be sent over at a time; so that if bad weather had come on, numbers

must have perished by starvation. On reaching the fleet, they found that large reinforcements had arrived; but these, under present circumstances, were all useless: after remaining windbound till the fourth of February, they ran down as far as Cat Island, a spot of sandy soil, near the mouth of the lake; where they remained to the seventh, and then proceeded to attack Fort Mobile; with the reduction of which unimportant place hostilities in this quarter of America ceased. Jackson, it is confidently asserted, lost but thirteen men during the late attack: having re-entered New Orleans with his troops, on the twentieth of January, he was received with boundless acclamations; and a solemn thanksgiving was offered up in the cathedral. An incident then occurred, which seems like one belonging to the grandest era of the Roman republic: as martial law still existed, the general placed under arrest a member of the legislature, who had furnished the newspapers with some articles of a pernicious tendency: application was made to the district judge for a writ of *habeas corpus*, to be served on the general; and this was granted in opposition to the positive injunctions of Jackson, by whose orders the judge himself was arrested, and sent out of the city: two days afterwards, official intelligence of a treaty of peace was received; and the civil magistrate had no sooner resumed his functions, than the military commander was summoned to answer for contempt of court: he accordingly appeared, and vindicated his conduct through his counsel; but was amerced in the sum of 1000 dollars. This sentence against the hero of New Orleans excited universal indignation, and the amount of the fine was quickly raised by the citizens: Jackson, however, had already discharged it from his own funds; and requested that the subscription might be distributed among the relatives of those who had fallen in the battle:¹⁹ he then resigned his command to general Gaines; and, like another Cincinnatus, retired to his farm, until his country, requiring his

CHAP.
LV.
— 1814.

¹⁹ See Life of President Jackson, in the American Portrait Gallery.

CHAP.
LV.1814.
Peace with
America.

services, again called him from his rural occupations.²⁰

Before the fatal termination of our expedition, the British and American commissioners at Ghent had concluded a treaty of peace, signed on the fourth of December; which, while it restored conquests on both sides, and concluded a settlement of boundaries on the Canadian frontier, to be adjusted afterwards, left the ostensible cause of war, 'the right of search,' untouched: but as America resigned her claim of compensation for captures made under our orders in council, her resistance to the maritime claims of England was considered to be tacitly abandoned: both parties bound themselves to do their utmost in abolishing the slave-trade. The interval between the actual conclusion of this treaty, and its publication, enabled the British navy to obtain a triumph, which made some slight compensation for our failure at New Orleans. The President, one of the largest American frigates, commanded by captain Decatur, accompanied by an armed brig, laden with provisions, sailed from New York during those gales by which our blockading squadron was driven out to

²⁰ It must however be confessed that the military reputation of this distinguished man stands much higher than his political character; in corroboration of which opinion I quote the following sensible observations from one of our daily journals:— 'We do not for a moment disguise our hope that the aristocratical element in English institutions, however modified, purified, or recruited, will survive to check the exaltation of mere momentary popular will as the sole power of government—that exaltation which Andrew Jackson did his part to accelerate and consummate, precisely by the same means and stages as we find it was done in the commonwealths of antiquity. The strongest sign of the progress of 'ochlocracy' in the Greek commonwealths, was the multiplication, and, as it were, the public scramble for petty offices, and the adoption of a system of rotation instead of election, and of a rapid succession in those offices, intended to gratify the universal thirst for an actual share in power. This idea of rotation was put forth in president Jackson's messages precisely from the same motive (though probably he knew nothing about that) as prompted it in the states of Greece: and he carried out into actual practice the same principle so far as it consisted in making all places change hands, for the gratification of the humblest ambitions, by carrying further than ever had been done before him, on attaining power, a clean sweep of every holder of the lowest public office. In like manner the downward movement of democracy in the several states has tended to abridge the duration, and change the holders, even of judicial offices.' Moreover, it may be observed, that from the school of general Jackson have proceeded most of those presidents and statesmen who have encouraged political and territorial aggression, to an extent wholly incompatible with amicable ties and relations with other nations.

sea: after a long chase, the *Endymion*, captain Hope, came up with the former, and a severe action ensued; when the President, having crippled her adversary in the rigging, was enabled to get a-head; but the British frigate *Pomona* coming up, the republicans surrendered after the exchange of a few broadsides. Some months previous to this, the United States frigate *Essex* had been taken off Valparaiso by the British frigate *Phœbe*; and our traders in that quarter were thus relieved from a formidable enemy: on the other side, the British sloop *Reindeer* had been captured by the American sloop *Wasp*.

CHAP.
LV.
1814.

One of the immediate advantages which the Americans derived from this war, was a greater consolidation of their union; others more indirect arose, not only from the impulse given by previous prohibitions to their manufacturing industry, but from the necessity that was now felt of a navy, to which their national energies were soon directed. With the return of peace, the flag of the republic was displayed on every sea; her territory rapidly extended itself; and internal improvements made astonishing strides; until at length was seen the phenomenon of a mighty empire, with all its state machinery in motion, unencumbered by a national debt. With regard to England, the conclusion of peace happily left her free and unembarrassed for the short but fierce conflict that soon took place in Europe; while the war itself proved the fidelity of her colonies in Canada and Nova Scotia.

A British expedition, which sailed from Halifax in July, under general Pilkington, had reduced Moose Island, and two others in the bay of Passamaquoddy: in September, this advantage was followed up; so that the enemy was compelled to burn a fine frigate, named the *John Adams*, and to leave the whole district, from that bay to the Penobscot river, in our possession. In consequence of the alarm thus created, measures were taken for defensive preparations; and it was proposed to congress, that the military establishment, amounting to 62,448 men, should be preserved and rendered

CHAP.
LV.

1814.

complete; while an additional permanent force of 40,000 was raised to defend the cities and frontiers: a bill was accordingly introduced, providing, that all the white male inhabitants of the United States, between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, should be distributed into classes of twenty-five; each class furnishing one able-bodied man to serve during the war; and the property in each division being taken as nearly equal as possible: but any five men liable to service, who should join to furnish one soldier, were to be exempted from the operation of this law.

CHAPTER LVI.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1815.

Arrangements made by the congress of Vienna—Views respecting them, &c.—Napoleon escapes from Elba, and lands in France—His advance to Paris, &c.—Retreat of Louis XVIII. to Ghent—Acts of the congress—Conduct of Bonaparte—Ill-judged and unsuccessful movement of Murat—Sensation created in England by Napoleon's return, at a period of tumult and rioting on account of the corn laws—Acts of the British parliament—Its prorogation in July—Duke of Wellington assumes the command of the armies in the Netherlands—Operations of the allies and of the French to the time when Napoleon crossed the frontier—Battles of Ligny, Quatre-Bras, and Waterloo—Pursuit of the French army by the Prussians, &c.—Advance of the allies into France, to the capitulation of St. Cloud—Napoleon's abdication—Re-instatement of Louis XVIII. on his throne—Works of art in the Louvre reclaimed by the allies—Second treaty of Paris—Projects, &c. of the Holy Alliance—French ministry—Cases of Labedoyère, Ney, and Lavallette—Soult and Murat—Ultimate destiny of Napoleon—Rewards given by the British nation to the heroes of Waterloo.

FROM the close connexion of Great Britain, and her powerful influence, with other states, it becomes necessary to take a more enlarged view of the acts of a congress, which, for the magnitude and variety of interests it undertook to settle, is unexampled in the annals of history. Much remained to be done for the restoration of that political system which had suffered so total a dislocation; and for the adjustment of that balance of power, which had been so intirely overthrown: but matters were facilitated by a general coincidence of opinion among the delegates, regarding the principal points to be discussed; such as the maintenance of the French monarchy in its existing inte-

Meeting of
the con-
gress of
Vienna.

CHAP.
LVI.
—
1815.

grity, with the restoration of the Austrian and Prussian dominions, according to the terms of a treaty already agreed on: much also was expected from the personal character and mutual friendship of the monarchs present, as well as from the talents and practical experience of many among their ministers: still there existed obstacles to a final settlement; among which were arrangements regarding Saxony and Poland, as well as the political and territorial relations of the Germanic states; fears also were entertained, and not without cause, that discussion might be interrupted, or negotiations broken off, by the tenacious purposes of selfish policy: but it happened by a singular fatality that an event occurred in the midst of these deliberations, which hastened them to a conclusion by overpowering the voice of individual interest. 'The man of destiny,' says Heeren, 'was again to make his appearance, to confirm that which he was anxious to destroy:' unmindful however at present of this interruption, let us proceed to notice the principal arrangements made for restoring the political system of Europe on the basis of legitimate monarchy.

Continental
arrange-
ments.

Scarcely was there a power, whose territorial relations were not in a distracted state; and nothing but the reduction of France to her ancient limits could have rendered an adjustment possible: yet complete restoration was not to be effected without much hardship, and some injustice: the number of souls and square miles, as well as the amount of revenue, was generally taken as a criterion, and not intirely without reason; though it too often became the sole criterion; while the difficulty of establishing a general epoch was overcome by adopting a different one for each of the three powers most concerned: with France it preceded 1792; with Austria it was the year 1805; and with Prussia 1806.

Germany, that ancient fulcrum on which the balance of power rested, and whose fate is so intimately connected with the interests of Europe, naturally claims our first attention: but what an aspect did this chaotic mass present, torn and dismembered on all sides;

with its rights of possession every where altered and uncertain! The necessity of rendering the union of its states as perfect as possible, appeared evident to every unprejudiced observer, and was loudly demanded by the public voice: but as the transformation of all into one state would have been adverse both to German improvement and European liberty, a federative union of independent powers, according to an idea started at the first treaty of Paris, was now proposed: and to forward this measure, a German commission was appointed, consisting of the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Prussia, Hanover, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg: thirteen sessions, however, fruitlessly employed, made it manifest that no agreement could be expected, while Bavaria and Wurtemberg presented so many objections: besides, the other German states and free cities entered into a counter-alliance, to oppose any decision of the commission made without their assent. 'All hope,' says Heeren, 'of the execution of this scheme was on the point of vanishing, when a higher destiny, confirming the tardy resolutions of the princes by an appeal to their fears, stepped in to its assistance.' A general deliberation was first held in May and June; and the act of union was signed on the eighth of the latter month; by which the sovereign princes and free cities of Germany entered into a perpetual league, called the Germanic Confederation, with a federative diet, to be held at Frankfort on the Maine. Though the connecting bond was drawn less tightly than was desired by some of the most powerful parties, yet it was hoped that time would render this body more compact, as the necessity of cohesion might be felt: to secure internal tranquillity, with independence regarding other countries, as well as to maintain political equality among all members of the union, were objects proposed and settled.¹

Territorial arrangements in Germany were closely connected with the restoration of its two greatest

¹ The constitution of the German confederation was perfected in the conferences at Vienna, during the years 1819 and 1820, when a supplementary act of sixty-five articles was added to it.

CHAP.
LVI.
1815.

monarchies; and as this concerned all Europe, the five leading powers which had concluded the peace of Paris now formed a closer combination, under the presidency of prince Metternich, into which the ministers of Spain, Portugal, and Sweden were admitted in particular cases. The restoration of the Austrian empire was effected, chiefly by means of the dissolved kingdom of Italy, and of the reconquered Illyrian provinces; but in part by the return of cessions which had been made to Bavaria² and Russia: with these acquisitions it contained 28,000,000 inhabitants, of which about 10,000,000 belonged to the German confederation; the rest being Hungarians, Italians, Illyrians, and Poles; a union of nations and states under a common sovereign, but without a common constitution.

A restoration of the Prussian monarchy, according to its statistical relations previous to 1806, was thought requisite by all the powers: yet so grievously had this state been mangled, that to effect it completely was impossible: Anspach and Baireuth could not be restored, on account of their situation, without mutilating Bavaria: Cleves therefore and Berg were substituted. The greatest difficulties, however, were occasioned by the claims of Russia to the duchy of Warsaw; and the curse of Polish partitions still lay heavy on Europe. Prussia, attaching herself to Russia, consented to yield; but for this sacrifice she demanded the whole of Saxony, whose king was to be indemnified in Westphalia. The cause of this monarch was advocated by Austria and England, but more especially by France; and as the feelings of the people were taken but little into consideration, a middle course of policy was pursued: so the country which had suffered most was now divided: a part also of the duchy of

² 1. In Italy, all the countries between the Tesino, Po, and Adriatic sea, with the Valtelin and Chiavenna, and the part of Mantua south of the Po, were elevated into a Lombardo-Venetian kingdom: the family also acquired the three *secundo-genitures*, Tuscany, Modena, and Parma, with Piacenza. 2. The Illyrian provinces were elevated into a kingdom. 3. Austria acquired what was formerly Venetian Dalmatia, with Ragusa, and the islands as far as Cattaro. 4. By compacts with Bavaria, the Tyrol, and Salzburg as far as the Salza: also those portions of the Innviertel and Hausruckviertel ceded in 1809. 5. From Russia she recovered the district ceded in East Galicia.— See Heeren, vol. ii. p. 412.

Warsaw was allotted to Prussia, together with Swedish Pomerania, Ahremberg, and other Westphalian provinces, with the greater part of the left bank of the Rhine, as far as to the Saar, by which Germany obtained a bulwark in that quarter. Thus, with about 10,000,000 inhabitants, and a territory separated into two large portions, Prussia returned into the rank of great powers; though to hold her station there, her spirit must continue to supply what is wanting in point of territory:³ a constitutional form of government was promised in place of a despotism; but the organisation of the administration was to precede that of the constitution; the latter being attended with great difficulties in such a divided state.

In the territorial adjustment of other great Germanic powers, Bavaria acquired, for its cessions to Austria, a part of the left bank of the Rhine, with Wurzburg, Aschaffenburg, and other portions of Fulda. Wurtemberg and Baden remained without alteration. Hanover, now a kingdom, received Prussia Hildesheim, East Friesland, the lower district of Lingen, Meppen, a part of Eichsfeld, and some districts from the elector of Hesse; ceding however to Prussia Lauenburg beyond the Elbe (afterwards exchanged with Denmark for Pomerania and Rugen), as well as some other districts.

The restoration of the Netherlands was considered among the most important objects of congress; since the Belgic state in the hands of France, was the first and most direct avenue to universal dominion: the apparent necessity of founding on this territory a powerful sovereignty, which, at least in alliance with Prussia, should be able to defend itself, produced the union of all the Netherlands, with a liberal constitution, under a single monarch:⁴ the necessity of a fixed

³ Of the ten provinces of this monarchy, seven only belong to the Germanic confederation; the other three are East and West Prussia, and Posen.

⁴ The constituent parts of the kingdom of the Netherlands were, all the Batavian and Belgic provinces, with Luttich, divided into seventeen provinces; beside the separate grand duchy of Luxemburg, through which the kingdom itself formed a part of the Germanic confederation. The inheritance of the throne was secured to the house of Orange; the king being invested with full executive powers, and a council of his own appointment: there was a legislative body, or states-general,

CHAP.
LVI.
1815.

boundary was also provided for; and England agreed to strengthen this at her own cost by a chain of fortifications, in return for the cession of Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice. Though it was not expected that two nations differing in origin, language, and religion, could immediately amalgamate; and though it was not possible to open at once to the industry of both the commerce and markets which they desired; yet it was hoped that the foundation of a permanent union might be laid, and that the wisdom of the house of Orange would effect the rest.

The restoration of the French state, as before observed, was the means and condition of restoring that of Europe: the necessity of its continuance among the most powerful monarchies had been openly proclaimed by the allies, even in the midst of victory; and though France was now brought back to her ancient limits, her situation and extent, her climate, soil, population, and spirit, must always give her immense advantages, which nothing but internal dissensions can destroy. Her constitution was wisely left to her own judgment; and although that which the people offered to their restored monarch had been rejected, yet no serious objections were made to the *charte* which Louis XVIII. presented to them in return; while his prudence and moderation seemed pledges that it was given in sincerity, and would be faithfully observed: the existence, however, of a free constitution, with an autocratic administration, was a problem remaining to be solved.⁵

A special committee was appointed for the restoration of the Swiss confederacy; the result of which was the annexation of the three separated cantons of

divided into two chambers; while freedom of worship and political equality of religious denominations were accorded.

⁵ The French *charte* had much in common with the British, but not every thing: it gave a constitutional king, with the plenitude of executive power, responsible ministers, a chamber of hereditary peers appointed by the king, and a chamber of deputies; but the king had an exclusive power of proposing laws; the inheritance of the peerage was connected with primogeniture; and the ministers had, *ex officio*, a seat and power of speaking in the chambers. The law of election and of age made forty years requisite for a deputy, thirty for a peer; but changes have since been made in this constitution, especially connected with the peerage and the press: of its colonies, France recovered Martinique, Guadaloupe, Marie Galante, Desirade, Les Saintes with its port of St. Martin, Cayenne, Senegal, and Goree; the isle of Bourbon, Pondicherry, Mahé, and Chandernagore.

Valais, Neuchâtel, and Geneva, to the union; with an acknowledgement of its perpetual neutrality. According to a new act, signed and sworn to this year by the twenty-two cantons, all guaranteed the territory and constitution of each: there was no longer any subject countries; and the enjoyment of political rights was not confined to any class of citizens: a diet was established, to be held every two years at Zurich, Berne, and Lucerne successively, for the purpose of discussing the affairs of the confederacy; to be formed of delegates from all the cantons, who should vote according to instructions: in common cases the majority to decide; two-thirds being necessary in the case of foreign alliances.

With regard to Sardinia, its territorial extent was increased, less in conformity with the principles of right than of convenience, by the incorporation of the republic of Genoa, with a free harbor for the capital; while the succession was secured to the line of Carignano. The states of the church were restored to their ancient limits, and to that wretched condition in which they existed before the revolution, including Bologna and Ferrara: but in this latter city, Austria reserved the right of keeping a garrison, while France retained Avignon. The *secundo-genitures* of Tuscany and Modena, belonging to Austria, were augmented by the establishment of Parma and Piacenza into a state, for the archduchess Maria Louisa; but to this arrangement, Spain, who claimed those cities for Don Carlos, son to the former queen of Etruria, made such resistance, that she refused to sign the act of congress.

The republic of the Ionian islands, formed during the storms of war, was now placed under the peaceful protection of Great Britain, with the assurance of a free constitution, and the acknowledgement of its commercial flag: the British sovereign was to depute a lord high commissioner, with a power of appointing the president of the senate, consisting of five members taken from the legislative assembly, chosen by the noble electors: the senate to possess the executive and initiatory powers; so that every law and resolution

CHAP.
LVI.

1815.

must first have the approbation of the lord commissioner: each island to have its separate government and courts, but with a court of appeal for all. In regard to the miserable countries of Spain and Portugal, the settlement of their governments, connected as they were with all that is bigoted and contemptible in human nature, was impracticable: their future changes and prospects will be noticed hereafter.

As the northern part of Europe had not been spared by the turbulence of the times, so all the states pertaining to it underwent considerable changes. Denmark had to renounce Norway, receiving in return only Swedish Pomerania; which she subsequently exchanged with Prussia for the duchy of Lauenburg as far as the Elbe: her form of government remained unaltered; but the introduction of a constitution of states into Holstein drew the country within the bounds of the great Germanic confederacy. The Scandinavian peninsula was now brought under the dominion of one monarch; and Sweden found in this union a political, if not a statistical equivalent, for the loss of Finland: with free constitutions, though differing in some respects from each other, and under a monarch renowned both in peace and war, Sweden and Norway have nothing to desire, and are probably destined to enjoy a long period of peace and prosperity.

No state issued from the convulsions of war more strengthened by national spirit arising from success, and more enlarged by territorial acquisitions, than Russia, that great leviathan of the north: on one side she was aggrandised by all Finland; on another by Bessarabia, with part of Moldavia; and on a third by several provinces acquired from Persia; while Poland was allotted to her in the present congress: this latter unfortunate country, though it was united for ever to the Russian empire, acquired a representative government of its own, which left the principal regulations, as they existed in the duchy of Warsaw, unchanged: the emperor, as its king, obtained the plenitude of executive power, of which he confided the discharge to a viceroy, assisted by ministers and a council of state;

the diet, consisting of the senate and chamber of deputies, to be convened every two years: its limits comprised the greater part of the former duchy of Warsaw, with the exception of Posen (assigned to Prussia), and the small district of Cracow; to which city, independence, a free constitution, and absolute neutrality were secured: thus the Russian eagle, hovering over two quarters of the world, with its eye fixed, as was supposed, on the ancient seat of Constantine, became a subject of considerable anxiety and distrust to many members of the European confederacy. Nor did England, which emerged uninjured from the distress of nations, and which required no restoration of territory or constitution, escape the jealousy of other states: the unexampled efforts which this country had made for the salvation of Europe demanded some recompense; and it was given in the possession of Malta and the Cape, as well as in the protective sovereignty of the Ionian islands: these acquisitions were small indeed in point of territory; yet when viewed in conjunction with her insular dependencies, and her possession of Gibraltar, they appeared to many as the great prizes of the war: in fact, they did confirm her power as mistress of the ocean; while her tremendous navy, and her colonial dependencies in both hemispheres, hid from general view, but known every where by their effects, added a sublimity to her grandeur, which has never been acquired by any other empire: yet, as apprehensions existed of injury to the balance of power by the union of Poland with Russia, especially if that state should hereafter be augmented by the spoils of Turkey, what counterpoise could have been contrived so effectual as the naval power of England? a dominion, mighty to control, but harmless to subdue; particularly when connected with a constitution like that of Great Britain.

The influence indeed of her constitution upon other nations, contributed to her glory, even more than the splendor of victory: by her fixed and earnest purpose, the abolition of the slave-trade, as far as circumstances would permit, had been effected; by

CHAP.
LVI.
1815.

her institutions, the light of christianity, that great vehicle of civilisation, had been diffused over all quarters of the globe; and they now became the source of that free spirit, which appeared in many parts of the new European confederacy: a taste for political freedom, thus excited in the western nations, may in itself perhaps be considered as the best counterpoise against the predominating power of particular states. 'Nevertheless,' as it has been observed, 'an aristocracy of the leading powers was practically and diplomatically formed in the restored system, such as did not exist, at least openly, in the former system of Europe: practically it originated in the manner of the restoration; for how was it possible that the management of general affairs should not come into the hands of monarchs, to whose strenuous exertions the weaker states were indebted for their restoration? In a diplomatic point of view, this aristocracy, proceeding from the nature of the relations, was founded by the treaty of Chaumont, establishing for twenty years a quadruple alliance of the four leading powers, Austria, Russia, England, and Prussia; it was confirmed by the forms of negotiation, and the league of Vienna; finally, it was perfected by the accession of France to that league at the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle.'⁶ There was however one radical cause of mischief in all these proceedings: no political change can be secure, which insults the feelings of human nature, or violates the principles of justice: to some of the bartered provinces their separate independence had been guaranteed; while others were transferred to rulers, who waited only for such a connexion to oppress them with intolerable servitude, and to drain every source of their prosperity, for the benefit of the sovereign territory: the disgust of the Belgians at their union was little less than that of the victims of Mezentius: the Milanese had an equal horror of Austrian domination: the Saxons clung with a more than filial affection to the memory of their excellent sovereign, and his paternal government:

⁶ Heeren, vol. ii. p. 438.

while the devoted Poles could not shut their eyes against the miserable fate impending over their heads: hence, in the very ground that was prepared for a harvest of all peaceful virtues, the seeds of dissention were plentifully scattered; nor did a long period elapse before these became manifest. It was hoped however that policy might acquire a higher sanction than mere diplomacy could lend: religion therefore was called in to its aid; a holy alliance was contemplated, over which, when it assembled, the false principles already introduced into the system threw a dark shade of suspicion, and rendered it a by-word among nations: whether any sinister views or ambitious motives lay concealed in the background at its formation, it is difficult to discover; for many obstacles stood in the way of its beneficial operation, owing to the defective nature and imperfect knowledge of popular rights on the continent: probably, its founder, Alexander, was sincere; and his memory suffers from the merciless disposition of his successor: the treaty of Vienna however has generally turned out a dead letter, or has only been active when it could be rendered an instrument of oppression. How long have the Prussian people been left without a constitution, and subjected to the severest military code in Europe! how have the prisons of Austria echoed with the groans of thousands distinguished by rank, talent, or patriotism; and who, daring even to dream of independence, may have given utterance to their sleeping thoughts! How soon was Poland deprived of her diet; while that of Hungary was shorn of its influence and popular attributes! Switzerland was soon frightened out of her independence; and the armies of three mighty potentates were drawn round the little city of Cracow; because, relying on the faith of treaties, and refusing to follow the base example of Prussia, it refused to violate the laws of hospitality, by giving up to the insatiable rage of Nicholas a few intrepid Poles who claimed its protection. The law of nations has, from the earliest times, accorded an asylum in a foreign land to the stranger prosecuted for political offences

CHAP.

LVI.

1815.

in his own; and it has been reserved for the three powers of Austria, Russia, and Prussia, infamously to seek its infraction, in order that the blood-stained Nicholas may glut his vengeance to the full. Thousands of the wretched Poles have fallen in the field; thousands are lingering in the deserts of Siberia; thousands have perished under tortures mental and corporeal; yet the vengeance of the autocrat is not satisfied:⁷ so Austria and Prussia consent to become panders for its gratification, by the open violation of a solemn treaty made and ratified at the congress of Vienna!

Escape of
Bonaparte
from Elba.

In the mean time, while the pomp of European diplomacy was there collected, and every day saw some new experiment of power, in the mutilation of monarchies and the transfer of allegiance, intelligence arrived, that the prisoner of Elba had escaped, and was already seated on the throne of Louis *le Désiré*. The explosion of a mine could scarcely have been more startling to the negotiators: 'the grand charlatan has outwitted the little ones,' exclaimed the witty and sarcastic diplomatist of France: but it happened that he out-tricked himself at the same time; for had he waited only a few months longer, not only would the congress have been dissolved, but its troops would have been disbanded. Europe once more put on her panoply; and England, without trusting merely to subsidies, or the faith of foreign courts, boldly took that lead in the contest, which became her rank, her interest in the event, and her established superiority in arms.

Though the terms of the peace had been studiously calculated to recommend it to the French, no concessions were of much avail with the mass of that people: after the recollection of their escape from the horrors of unsuccessful war, and the consequent invasion of their territories, had subsided, they became disposed

⁷ Lately this imperial autocrat has taken up the weapons of religious persecution against both Jews and Christians; bidding fair to rival, if not excel, the worst of Roman emperors in that line. For an able character and parallel of this sanguinary monarch, from the most eminent journalist of the day, the reader is referred to the Appendix.

to murmur at the contraction of their boundaries, and to complain that Belgium at least had not remained with them: but this was only a slight grievance compared with the wounds inflicted on their sense of honor, as it was called; or rather, on that vanity which arises from military ascendancy and national aggrandisement: discontent on this score passed from the ranks of the army into different classes of society; while various other sources of dissatisfaction and of embarrassment arose from restraint necessarily placed on the liberty of the press; from occasional deviations from the national charter; from apprehensions naturally entertained, lest the crown and church lands, alienated during the revolution, should now be resumed; from the claims and conduct of returning emigrants; from the bigotry of priests; and from that enormous defalcation of the finances, which, in the two years of 1812 and 1813 alone, equalled the sum of £13,000,000 sterling; but which had been studiously kept out of public view by Napoleon: thus split into parties, vexed with nameless jealousies, receiving a master from the hands of conquerors, never hearing the names of public liberty or limited monarchy from the restored government, and, above all, imbued with a spirit that revolted from the sacred ties of morality and religion, France became full of inflammable materials; nor was a torch long wanting to light them up into a flame.

For some time, Napoleon had felt irritated and discontented in his exile. The most serious political blunders had been committed with respect to the fallen emperor: 'to extinguish his ambition,' says an eloquent writer, 'he had been suffered to retain the imperial title; to destroy his connexion with the French military, he was permitted to retain his flag, his staff, and a portion of his guard; to prevent the possibility of his renewing disturbances in France or Italy, he was fixed on an island almost within sight of both; while the consequences were foreseen by all mankind, except the emperors, the diplomatists, and the Bourbons.'⁸

⁸ Croley, *Life of George IV.* p. 437.

CHAP.
LVI.
— 1815.

At this particular time, he became subject to great pecuniary inconveniences, from plunging into expenses without weighing the amount of his resources; and these evils were much heightened by the culpable neglect of the French government, which had not paid any portion of the yearly income secured to him by treaty: thus harassed, and tormented by the restlessness of a mind impatient of restraint, he gave vent to expressions which excited suspicion; and it is said, that not only a plan was in agitation for removing him from his island throne, and transferring him to a securer place of confinement; but that the design transpired, and reached the ears of Napoleon himself. Having found means therefore to elude the vigilance of sir Neil Campbell, appointed by a very loose kind of commission to watch his movements, he embarked, with his 400 guards, 100 Polish lancers, and about 200 Italian adventurers, on board his brig; being accompanied by three other vessels that were accidentally in the harbor of Porto Ferrajo. After escaping detection by several French men of war, as well as the pursuit of sir Neil Campbell, the illustrious adventurer landed in the evening of the first of March near Frejus; where he had formerly embarked both for Egypt and for Elba: having bivouacked on the shore until the moon arose, he advanced at the head of his little band, and was received with enthusiasm by the peasantry: at Grenoble, where general Marchand commanded, a part of the garrison was drawn out to oppose his progress; the muskets of the soldiers were even pointed against him and his followers; when Napoleon, advancing with intrepid step, and asking, 'Who desired to slay him? for now was the time!' was answered by the old cry of *Vive l'Empereur!* Marchand, faithful to his trust, ordered the garrison to arms, and the artillery on the ramparts to be charged; but the gunners put in the shot before the powder; while Labedoyère, colonel of the seventh regiment, marched out at the head of his corps with drums beating, and preceded by his regimental eagles, to salute and join the emperor: this impulse decided

the conduct of the army, and the success of the invasion. The startling news had now reached Paris: Louis XVIII. proclaimed Napoleon a traitor, and set a price on the head of one who derided the idle menace: he then proposed Soult for the command of the army, which was to cut off the invader's march from Lyons: but that captain prudently declined the honor, satisfied himself by laughing at Napoleon's temerity, and proposed in his stead the impolitic and impetuous Ney, who, in the pride of recent favor, boasted that 'he would bring back the Corsican in an iron cage:' Napoleon however directed Bertrand to write a letter to the marshal, in which he threw on him the responsibility of all the blood that might be shed; and Ney immediately joined his standard. That the Bourbons might not appear wanting to their own cause, Monsier, with the duke of Orleans, set out toward Lyons; the duke d'Angoulême repaired to Nismes; and the duc de Berri was named general of the army appointed to defend the capital, having under him marshal Macdonald: the legislative body, with many of the nobility, declared for the royal cause; and the ministers of foreign powers, resident at Paris, hastened to assure his majesty of foreign support. An address, on the eighth of March, was issued by Soult, then minister of war, denouncing Bonaparte as a traitor, and exhorting the soldiers 'to rally round the banner of the lilies, under the worthy heir of the great Henry;' but the king grew uneasy at the defeat of all his war minister's plans, and dismissed him with a letter full of compliment and royal confidence: after the lapse of two months from Soult's address, he was announced in the *Moniteur* as major-general of Napoleon's empire, and gazetted as a peer! In the mean time, the emperor had issued his decrees from Lyons, rescinding all that had been done in his absence, and was advancing toward the capital: as a last resource, Louis convoked a council, on the eighteenth of March; when the marshals, and other officers present, gave their opinion that no effectual

CHAP.
LVI.
1815.

resistance could be made; though they were so warmly contradicted by the royalist nobles, that the king was obliged hastily to break up the assembly: the question however was soon brought to an issue: for the two armies approached each other at Melun: that of the king, under the command of marshal Macdonald, being drawn up, on the twentieth, in three lines, to stop the invaders. There was for a long time a pause of intense anxiety: at length, about noon, the sound of galloping steeds was heard; an open carriage appeared, escorted by a few troopers, and drawn by four horses at full speed: it suddenly stopped; and Napoleon, in his grey coat, leaping from the vehicle, plunged into the ranks which had been formed to oppose him: then arose the general shout of *Vive l'Empereur!* and no farther obstacle existed between himself and that capital, which for a brief space he was destined again to occupy as sovereign.

Arrival of
Napoleon
at Paris.

The unhappy monarch, anticipating this defection of his army, had departed from Paris, and was followed by the loyal Macdonald, the last marshal who quitted the emperor, the first who devoted himself to the king: proceeding on the way to Lille, Louis passed through Abbeville and other garrison towns, where the soldiers received him with a sullen kind of respect: at Lille he hoped to make a stand; but marshal Mortier, one among the few found faithful, being aware of the state of the garrison, urged him to proceed; when he departed to Ostend, and subsequently to Ghent. In the mean time, the revolution had full play in the capital; where Lavallette, one of Napoleon's ancient aides-de-camp, having assumed the management of the post-office, was enabled to intercept the royal proclamations, and announce to every department the emperor's restoration: the white flag, which floated over the Tuilleries, was now taken down, and replaced by the tricolored banner; and when Napoleon, after his uninterrupted triumphal march, arrived late in the evening, he was welcomed by such crowds pressing round him, that his officers were obliged to support

him in their arms up the grand staircase; and thence into the royal apartments, where he listened to the joyous acclamations of the multitude.

CHAP.
LVI.
1815.

As already has been observed, the congress was sitting when these remarkable incidents burst on the world; it became necessary therefore for that body to express its sentiments on so extraordinary an occasion: accordingly, a declaration appeared on the thirteenth of March, asserting that Napoleon Bonaparte had destroyed the only legal title on which his existence depended; and that for the future there could be neither peace nor truce with one, who, having placed himself without the pale of civil and social relations, had rendered himself liable to public vengeance: desiring therefore to maintain intire the treaty of Paris, and the dispositions which that treaty sanctioned, they expressed a resolution to provide against every attempt which might threaten to replunge the world into the disorders of revolution.

All Europe now rang with preparations for war: on the twenty-fifth of March, a treaty was formed between Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, to maintain and enforce the above-mentioned resolution; each of the contracting parties agreeing to keep constantly in the field 150,000 men; and engaging, among many other stipulations, not to lay down their arms but by common consent. The usurper did not hesitate to declare his ready acquiescence in the treaty of Paris, and to express, in a letter to each of the allied monarchs, a wish to make peace on its principles: no answer however was returned; for the decision of the confederates had been already taken: finding therefore that nothing could be gained by negotiation, Napoleon became sensible that the grand point at issue could only be determined on the field of battle: consequently, he endeavored in good earnest to conciliate the French people; publishing a list of his own grievances to justify the step he had taken, and especially insisting on his restoration to the throne by the voice of the nation. On the first of June he held the assembly of the Champ de Mai, to present

Renewal of
hostilities.

CHAP.
LVI.

1815.

his new constitution to the people, and to distribute among his regiments the eagles under which they were no longer destined to conquer. Having next summoned the chambers, he discarded all pretensions to absolute power, and professed himself a friend to constitutional liberty: he remarked that there was little cause to provide against the intoxications of triumph, when they were about to contend for existence; and having stated the crisis to be imminent, he cautioned them to avoid the conduct of the Roman people in the latter stages of the empire, who engaged fiercely in abstract discussions while the common enemy was battering the gates of the capital: then departing 'to measure himself with Wellington,' he left them engaged in the task of altering and modifying this new code of laws. The defeat and ruin of the king of Naples about this time was a discouraging event to Napoleon: Murat, against whose tenure of the crown old Ferdinand exclaimed vehemently, had never been acknowledged king; and being apprehensive, not without reason, that the congress of Vienna meditated his dethronement, he suddenly attacked the Austrians, and proclaimed independence to Italy: but the Italian patriots had not sufficient confidence in his character and pretensions to answer his invocation; while the Neapolitan rabble was little qualified to contend with the legions of Austria: after some slight successes, therefore, he was routed in two engagements, and escaped to France, a disguised and miserable fugitive; his rash conduct in the present instance being as unfortunate for Bonaparte, as his base desertion had been in the preceding year. Napoleon's only chance of peace lay in the interest which he might excite in the mind of the Austrian emperor; but this was now wholly cut off; for, 'how can I treat with him,' said Francis, 'when he excites his brother-in-law to attack me in Italy?'

Domestic
disturb-
ances.

The sensation created in England by Bonaparte's resumption of the French throne, though strong, was hardly equal to the singular importance of that event: the period was one of tumultuary discontent through-

out the realm; and the week in which this news arrived from France was signalised by the most alarming riots that had distinguished the metropolis for many years. Bread being the chief article of daily sustenance, its supply at a moderate price is necessarily an object of general desire; and the people expected that the return of peace would gratify their wishes in this respect: but the lords and occupiers of land, unwilling to relinquish the high prices which corn had for some years borne, and having a strong pretext in the heavy burdens left on them, above all other classes, to support, were clamorous for a prohibitory duty on foreign grain: the subject had been discussed in the preceding session; and the result was an act which allowed exportation without duty or bounty; but a bill for regulating importation was rejected, with a view to further inquiry. Mr. Frederic Robinson now revived that scheme which suited the views of corn-growers, by proposing that no wheat should be imported, while the price of a quarter remained under eighty shillings in the united kingdom; but that it might be introduced from the British territories in North America, when the price was so low as sixty-seven shillings; and he argued for the necessity of altering the laws on this subject, from the serious injury to which the agricultural interest, that great support of the country, would otherwise be liable: it was highly impolitic, he said, to depend on foreign supplies, which might fail us at the time of the greatest need; and the best encouragement ought to be given to the production of such a stock of corn as would preclude the necessity of importation.

Debates in
parliament.

His proposition was strongly resisted by Mr. Baring, who alleged that the practice of importation had not checked, but was rather calculated to advance, the progress of agriculture; that the accommodation of general consumers ought to be more anxiously consulted than the exclusive interests of the cultivators of land; and that the suggested standard was improperly calculated on the supposed continuance of the present expenses of the latter class. Numerous petitions from

CHAP.
LVI.

1815.

the manufacturing and commercial towns were presented against any alteration of the laws respecting corn; and from that period to the present, this question has been a constant source of clamor and discontent. Notwithstanding the indications of popular feeling, a bill was introduced, after warm preliminary debates, for the gratification of landholders; and it was supported in its progress by ample majorities, while the consumers of bread became infuriated at the prospect of high prices and starvation. Multitudes, chiefly from Spitalfields, blocking up the avenues to both houses of parliament, so insulted and maltreated obnoxious members, that it became necessary to call out the military in aid of the civil power: several houses belonging to supporters of this bill were attacked by the mob; those of Mr. Robinson and lord Eldon were particularly exposed to wanton havoc; the family of the latter being obliged to fly for refuge at night to the British Museum: a renewal of these outrages occasioned the death of two individuals, who, though not engaged in the riot, were unfortunately shot from one of the windows, by soldiers stationed within. When the bill passed through both houses, the corporation of London addressed the regent, hoping that he would withhold his royal assent from a measure which was generally disapproved of by the nation; but it scarcely could be expected that he would reject a plan which his ministers promoted, and which a large majority of each house had deliberately sanctioned.

The commotion thus excited was arrested, rather than allayed, by the sudden event which again compromised the peace of Europe: that the escape and restoration of Napoleon would rekindle the flames of war, who indeed could doubt? Such a declaration as might have been expected had already emanated from the congress; and the treaty of Chaumont was rendered still more obligatory on the confederated princes by its renewal at Vienna: preparations for executing its menaces were instantly prosecuted with zeal and alacrity in this country; while the regent sent a mes-

sage to both houses; in which he stated, that, relying on the support of parliament, he had given orders for the augmentation of his land and naval forces: the necessity for war, however, was not at this time insisted on; though the cabinet had undoubtedly resolved on hostilities, by previously sending instructions for the signature of a treaty which breathed a warlike spirit. The address of the peers passed without a division; but, in the house of commons, Mr. Whitbread moved an amendment, expressly recommending the preservation of peace: he regarded the address as covertly pledging the house to war; but Mr. Ponsonby construed it as expressing no such pledge: thus opposition was divided, and the amendment rejected by a majority of two hundred and twenty votes against thirty-seven. The supposed negligence of ministers, in suffering the escape of one whom they had branded as the oppressor of Europe, formed a subject of pointed animadversion; and it was fairly contended, that, if the allies thought him so dangerous an enemy to the civilised world, they ought to have secured his person, when they had it in their power: yet they had made a very improper choice of a residence; from which their own want of vigilance tempted him to emigrate.

A vehement attack also was at this time made on the imperfections of the American treaty: Mr. Ponsonby censured the negligence of the plenipotentiaries, not only for their long delay in adjusting the treaty, but for the indefinite postponement of the most important objects of discussion. Peace, he said, was highly desirable; but if it did not promise to be permanent, blame must attach itself to the negotiators, or to the statesmen by whom they were employed; because it was the true interest of both nations to remove all grounds of dispute. Mr. Goulburn, who, with the assistance of lord Gambier and Dr. Adams, had managed the treaty on the part of Great Britain, denied that this alleged delay was impolitic or unnecessary; since it was the duty of himself and his colleagues to proceed with caution, and to secure by discussion and expostulation the most favorable terms.

CHAP.
LVI.
1815.

The American negotiators, he observed, had been ordered to decline a definitive adjustment, unless the claim of impressment should be relinquished, and the rights of neutrals explicitly acknowledged: but to prevent a continuance of the war, they at length agreed to waive those points. Mr. Baring, dissatisfied with this vindication of the treaty, severely condemned the whole process, and its very imperfect result; but his and other animadversions, could procure no more than thirty-seven votes for an amendment in an unreformed house of commons; while an address of thanks was supported by 128. In the upper house, when the treaty had been severely arraigned by lord Wellesley, and feebly defended by earl Bathurst, eighty-three votes were procured for an address, against a minority of thirty.

An important act was passed in the beginning of this session, for extending the trial by jury, in civil causes, to Scotland. Its provisions differed in several particulars from those of English law; and the granting such a trial was made optional, in each case, with the judges: but hopes were entertained that at no distant period a farther extension of the principle would be allowed; especially as the present measure was favorably received by the Scotch. A bill also passed for continuing the restriction of cash payments by the bank of England, till the fifth of July, 1816; a motion for inquiry having been previously negatived.

On the twenty-second of May the final question of war was brought before parliament in a message from the throne: it was debated next day by the lords; when earl Grey in a powerful speech strongly urged the necessity of a pacific policy for this country, while lord Grenville supported the warlike views of administration: on the twenty-fifth it was discussed in the lower house; where Mr. Grattan, with a vehement and eloquent indignation, declaiming against the despoiler of Europe, advocated the most energetic measures to hurl him from the throne which he had usurped. The renewal of war, however, demanded large supplies; and such were granted, as stand an unparalleled

instance of national power in the annals of the world. Will posterity believe, that, after the exhaustion consequent on so protracted a contest, this nation was able in one year to raise the enormous sum of £90,000,000 sterling for the public service? Yes: for in the future development of British resources, it is probable that posterity will be enabled to double that sum, if requisite. Our allies were able to furnish men in abundance; but their pecuniary means were inadequate to the present exigency: £9,000,000 therefore were allowed, under the head of foreign disbursements; England paying eighteen pounds for each foot soldier, and thirty pounds for each horseman, to make up the deficiency of her contingent settled by the treaty of Chaumont: more than £39,000,000 were still required for the expenses of her own army establishment, beside a sum nearly amounting to £5,500,000 for the ordnance department; while, to make assurance doubly sure, the navy was kept up in all its prowess, at an expense of £18,644,200! The unjust and inquisitorial *income* tax, which ministers had abandoned to popular indignation, was continued as an indispensable part of the financial system in time of war; but the loan system now reached its acmé; for the whole sum so raised this year amounted to £42,000,000. A message from the regent on the twenty-seventh of June announced the marriage of the duke of Cumberland with the widow of the prince of Salms; and a motion was made in the commons for an addition to that royal person's income; but as it appeared that the queen had expressed a strong objection to this union, the grant was negatived by 126 votes against 125: the escape of lord Cochrane from the king's bench prison, his recapture, and subsequent liberation, would scarcely be worth noticing, were it not for the remarkable circumstance, that, on this occasion, his single voice determined the above question, and relieved the speaker from the unpleasant necessity of giving a casting vote on a question of considerable delicacy: parliament was prorogued on the eleventh of July by a speech from the throne.

CHAP.
LVI.

1815.

Operations
of the
allies.

The close of the year 1814 had left the fortified frontier of Belgium, on the side of France, occupied by strong garrisons, chiefly composed of British troops, or of such as were in British pay. From the commencement of the alarm excited by Napoleon's return, reinforcements had been quickly and unremittingly sent from England; while the duke of Wellington set out from Vienna to assume the command of the British and other troops dispersed throughout the Belgic provinces: in the latter part of May, the Prussian army, under prince Blucher, arrived in the vicinity of Namur; and frequent conferences respecting a plan of co-operation took place between these two generals: the Prussians, at the time when operations commenced, could bring about 110,000 men into the field; but some of their regiments were composed of raw recruits, drawn from provinces lately acquired; while many had even served under the great commander whom they came now to oppose: the disposable forces under Wellington scarcely amounted to 80,000; of which about 30,000 were British, and 4000 well-tried German legionaries: the rest were Belgians, Dutch, and Hanoverians, with troops from Brunswick, Wurtemberg, and Nassau. The infantry were formed into ten divisions, and these again into two grand corps; one under the orders of the prince of Orange, who had his head-quarters at Brain le Compte, on the road from Mons to Brussels; the other under lord Hill, with his head-quarters at Brussels; while the reserve of 10,000 men was placed under the gallant Picton: the cavalry, between 12,000 and 15,000 strong, and probably superior to any force of the kind ever brought into the field, was posted, under lord Anglesea, about Grammont, on the British right: the magnificent train of artillery, under its able commander sir George Wood, consisted of 250 pieces; of which the grand *parc* was at Ghent. Quatre-Bras, on the road from Charleroi to Brussels, was appointed to be the general rallying point by the duke, with a view to communicate with his allies.

Blucher's army, divided into four corps under gene-

als Ziethen, Pirch, Thiehnau, and Bulow, lined the banks of the Sambre and the Meuse from Charleroi to Liege; at which latter place Bulow's division was posted: Blucher himself had his head-quarters at Namur, and his rallying point was Fleurus.

The Austrians, advancing both by the Rhine and the Alps, were as yet far from the line of operations, and the Russians at a still greater distance; but before the end of July the coalition would press with at least 600,000 effective troops on the French frontier: hence the anxiety of Napoleon to strike a decisive blow; since victory at this moment would rally the Belgians round his standard, and give time for the organisation of immense masses in France to oppose the advancing waves of war. Soult had, in the beginning of June, assumed the command of what was called the grand army of the north, with the rank of major-general; and after appealing to the courage and patriotism of French troops, he reviewed the different divisions, and inspected the fortresses. On the fourteenth, Napoleon joined the imperial guard, and took the supreme command: from head-quarters at Beaumont he put forth an address; which, after extolling his generosity in the moment of victory at Marengo, Friedland, Austerlitz, and Wagram, and designating the allies as enemies to justice and the rights of nations, concluded with the following words:—‘for every Frenchman who has courage, the moment is come to conquer or to die.’ His five corps of infantry, not including the imperial and the young guard under counts Friand and Morand, were commanded by generals d’Erlon, Reille, Vandamme, Gerard, and Lobau; while four of cavalry, under the orders of Pajol, Excelmans, Kellerman, and Milhaud, were commanded in chief by marshal Grouchy; the whole amounting to more than 130,000 men, with a superb *parc* of 350 pieces of artillery. This army, though far inferior in numbers to the allied forces, enjoyed several eminent advantages over them; for it was exclusively composed of French soldiers; mostly of veterans, trained in warfare, well acquainted with their officers, placing unlimited con-

CHAP.
LVI.

1815.

Operations
of the
French.

CHAP.
LVI.
1815.

fidence in their leader, and looking eagerly forward to the splendid rewards which had ever awaited troops that conquered under his auspices.

In the memoirs dictated at St. Helena, Napoleon has himself explained the design or plan of his operations: his intention, as it appears, was to throw himself between the two allied armies; to separate the Prussians from the British; to attack each in detail, with the hope of beating one before it could receive assistance from the other. Calculating on the supposed character of his antagonists, he imagined that the Prussians would be first in the field, while he did not believe that the British army would make any forward movement until its intire force was assembled: the plan was excellent, had the allies been so far asunder, that either could have been forced to fight before its assailants became exposed to the attack of the other; but in the present case the French were thrown between two large armies, distant only a day's march; each having secure diverging lines of retreat on its own supplies and fortresses, and both having secure concentric lines of retreat also on fortresses, which not only left their communications open, but enabled them, at any time, to unite their forces by a single march.⁹

Arrival of
Bonaparte
in Bel-
gium.

Having masked his movements and concentrated his troops with his usual skill and rapidity, on the very edge of the frontier, by the evening of the fourteenth, Napoleon crossed its line at daybreak on the fifteenth, in three columns, directing them on Marchiennes-au-Pont, Charleroi, and Chatelet. Some severe skirmishing attended this hostile invasion; for the Prussian general Ziethen, whose division was nearest to the foe, had received orders to dispute the ground; and these were steadily and bravely executed, though not without considerable loss: Charleroi, however, was occupied by the French, who also crossed the Sambre at the other two points: the corps of Reille advanced to Gosselies, while Grouchy, with his cavalry, pushed Ziethen on Fleurus; against which

⁹ See United Service Journal for 1834, part i. p. 475.

place the centre and right wing of the army, with the imperial guard, under Napoleon in person, was directed: in the mean time, Ney was ordered to lead the left wing, comprising eight divisions of infantry, and four of cavalry, against Quatre-Bras; whence, after having overcome such opposition as might be offered by the Belgians and British, he was to push forward strong outposts on the road to Brussels.

Some time elapsed before prince Blucher obtained any information respecting the emperor's movements in advance: on the morning of the day when he entered Charleroi, the Prussian forces were cantoned over an extent of thirty leagues; and it required two days to assemble them.¹⁰ Intelligence of events arrived at Brussels about six o'clock in the evening; but it was not explicit, and the duke of Wellington did not rely sufficiently on its authenticity to put his army in motion: when the enemy could choose any line of operations, a false movement on his part might be ruinous; preparatory notice for the troops to assemble was immediately given: about eleven, however, more certain accounts reached his grace; who, with many other superior officers of our army, was at a grand ball given by the duchess of Richmond. Instantly orders were issued, that the garrison of Brussels, which was the nearest disposable force, should move to check the enemy: similar commands were given to the cavalry, artillery, and guards, quartered at Enghien; while other troops, cantoned at greater distances, were directed to move up to their support. Two distinguished highland regiments, the forty-second and ninety-second were among the first to muster, with alacrity, to the sound of a well-known pibroch, called the 'Camerons' Gathering: they formed part of the fifth division under Picton, who had arrived that very evening at Brussels, and was still to be placed in the battle's front: before day-break on the sixteenth, all were on their march, full of confidence and courage, toward the scene of expected hostilities; and about seven o'clock, the duke

¹⁰. Memoirs relative to 1815 at St. Helena.

CHAP.
LVI.

1815.

Battle of
Ligny.

himself, who had waited to receive reports from some distant stations, left Brussels with a numerous staff. The same morning beheld Blucher's troops entering into position along the heights of Bry; and while Ney, with his left wing, was advancing toward Quatre-Bras, Napoleon, leaving d'Erlon's division of 10,000 men near Marchiennes, to serve as a central support, marched with his main body against the Prussians; but he was unable to concentrate his forces, so as to commence the attack, before three in the afternoon: the intire position of his opponents extending about four miles, was occupied by 70,000 infantry, 9000 cavalry, and 252 pieces of artillery; the forces of the assailants being nearly equal; for the corps under Bulow had not yet arrived at the point of concentration from its distant cantonments between Liege and Hannut. The engagement commenced, on the side of the French, by a tremendous cannonade; under cover of which, the third corps, commanded by Vandamme, made a furious attack on the village of St. Amand, which was taken and retaken several times during the action; little more than one-half remaining in possession of the French after several hours of severe fighting: by degrees, the combat extended itself along the whole line of both armies, and Ligny became the scene of a desperate and prolonged contest; being attacked by the fourth corps under Gerard, supported by the guards, with the sixth corps in reserve; while marshal Grouchy, with the cavalry of Pajol, advanced against the extreme left of the Prussians at Sambre. Ligny was assailed and defended with equal intrepidity, being taken and retaken six times, as each party was alternately reinforced from masses of infantry disposed behind that part of the village which they respectively occupied: nothing could exceed the fury with which the troops of both nations fought; for none ever entertained a more deeply-seated spirit of vengeance than that which animated the French and Prussians at this period: a cannonade on both sides was kept up through the whole afternoon; but in this species of warfare the Prussians suffered most, their masses

being exposed on the heights behind the villages; while those of the French were sheltered by the winding valleys of the lower ground. It was now seven o'clock: 500 pieces of artillery, during four hours, had been dealing out destruction; a fierce fire of sharp-shooters had been continually carried on along the whole course of the ravine between the two armies; the villages literally had their streets choked up with slain; but no very serious impression, no general onset, had been made on either side. Blucher waited for the arrival of Bulow or Wellington; but for what Napoleon tarried it is difficult to say: necessity, however, at length impelled him forward; for evening was now closing in; Bulow was advancing; and the British, still in position at Quatre-Bras, were joined every hour by reinforcements; so that if the morning sun had found him engaged at Ligny, his doom had been sealed. D'Erlon's division, therefore, was ordered up; but before it arrived, the whole French guard, supported by a strong force of cuirassiers, was pushed through and round the village, with orders to attack the heights of Bry: promptly and boldly these were executed; and as the Prussian reserves had been despatched to St. Amand, Blucher had no means of repelling the assault but by meeting it with his cavalry: placing himself, therefore, at the head of the sixth lancers, he led them to the charge in the most determined manner; but all in vain: his troops were forced back in great disorder; the French cavalry followed up their success; and the gallant old man narrowly escaped death, or what would have been to his noble spirit worse than death, captivity: his grey charger, a gift of the prince regent of England, was struck by a cannon shot, and fell, just as the Prussian lancers turned away from their steel-clad foes. 'Now, Nostitz, I am lost!' he exclaimed to his aide-de-camp, as he sank beneath the dying steed: his faithful friend, however, did not forsake him; but with admirable presence of mind threw a military cloak over the fallen chief, while their impetuous enemies rushed on without noticing the group. Before count Nostitz

CHAP.
LVI.

1815.

could extricate his commander, the French cuirassiers were driven back over the field, and the whole broken route again passed by them: but the count had seized the bridle of a soldier's horse, and, with the assistance of its rider, he placed the marshal on it, and conveyed him out of danger: he had, however, scarcely effected this, before the enemy advanced again in full force against the central point of the long-disputed position on the heights behind Ligny. This bold attempt was made with great intrepidity: eight battalions of the imperial guard, supported by four squadrons of cavalry, two regiments of cuirassiers, all the reserves of the fourth corps, and a formidable artillery, traversed the village of Ligny, and rushed into the ravine which separates it from the heights: these they began to ascend in face of a constant fire of grape and musketry; but nothing could check their impetuosity; and a dreadful carnage took place when the grenadiers of the guard attacked the Prussian squares at the point of the bayonet: for a considerable time the havoc continued with equal fury on both sides; until the Prussian cavalry was driven back, and a division of French infantry, favored by the darkness, made a circuit of the village unperceived, and took the main body of their opponents in the rear. Though surprised by this movement, the Prussians did not suffer themselves to be disconcerted: formed into masses, they coolly resisted every attack of cavalry, and preserved their line unbroken; but having no reserve at hand to restore the battle, and unable much longer to sustain repeated assaults of superior numbers, Blucher prudently determined on a retreat, for the purpose of joining his fourth corps: he accordingly directed his centre and right wing to fall back on Tilly; and this movement was executed in such a firm unbroken array, as deterred the enemy from pursuing him beyond the abandoned heights.

An unsuccessful attempt indeed was made by Vandamme to occupy the attention of the right wing at St. Amand, till the retreat of the centre would have left it exposed to the danger of being surrounded:

but Ziethen was too vigilant; and when the centre receded, he fell back also, so as to preserve his communication with it. The village of Bry was retained by the Prussians during the night; and Thielman, who had maintained himself in Sombref against all the efforts of Grouchy, did not quit it till day-break; when he slowly retired with his third corps on Gembloux, where Bulow had arrived. Napoleon at first thought that the Prussians would endeavor to rally in the vicinity of Namur; but he soon found that Blucher had more judiciously retired on Wavre, in a line parallel with the retreat which he conjectured the duke of Wellington would have to make from Quatre-Bras; thus preventing what the French vainly anticipated, a separation of the allied armies. Such was the battle of Ligny, in which the Prussians, as their brave commander observed, 'lost the field, but not their honor:' the measure of advantage, however, which Bonaparte derived from this success, was greatly limited by the unfavorable result of Ney's action on the left.

CHAP.
LVI.
—
1815.

Here, says an intelligent observer, we come to the first accusation preferred against that intrepid marshal by Napoleon, who charges him with having lost many hours of valuable time, by delaying the attack on Quatre-Bras till three o'clock in the afternoon; though the emperor himself, whose army had a shorter distance to march, only began that on Ligny at the same hour. Ney was at Gosselies on the evening of the fifteenth, and his light troops had advanced to Frasnes: in marching on Quatre-Bras next morning, it is said, he had only eight miles to go: he was opposed by a few of the Nassau light infantry, insufficient to retard his column for an instant; and yet he reached the point of destination, only a short time before Picton's division and the duke of Brunswick's corps came up, after a march of twenty-six miles, from Brussels. 'If,' it is observed in reply, 'we suppose that the French corps were all assembled, closed up, and ready to act, as implied by Napoleon, it would be difficult to account

CHAP.
LVI.
1815.

for this delay; but Excelmans, with some troops of the left wing, was still on the right bank of the Sambre on the morning of the sixteenth; much nearer, certainly, to the scene of action than the British, but not exactly at hand.¹⁶ Excuse also is made for the marshal on account of the badness of the road along which his column was directed, and the difficulty thence occasioned to so large a force of all arms; while the British were, unfortunately for themselves, almost wholly unincumbered with artillery or cavalry: so various, however, and conflicting are the accounts which ascribe errors and confusion to Ney, and to Napoleon himself, on this occasion, that our limits oblige us to pass them over, and confine ourselves to a detail of the actions that really took place.

Battle of
Quatre-
Bras.

On the sixteenth, as already has been mentioned, the left wing of the French army commenced its march toward Quatre-Bras, encountering and driving before them some Belgian troops; but the gallant prince of Orange, who had received his military education under the great duke, advancing to the support of his advanced posts, reinforced them so as to keep the enemy in check; for it was of the utmost importance to maintain the position of Quatre-Bras, where the high road from Charleroi to Brussels was intersected by another, which formed a communication with the Prussian line at St. Amand. The large wood of Bossu skirted the Brussels road, on the right of the British; and a deep hollow way ran in front along the edge of this wood, between which and the French position were several fields of rye grown to its full height: in such a situation, it became a principal object with the enemy to secure the wood, and with the prince of Orange to defend it; but notwithstanding all his exertions, the Belgians gave way, and a considerable French force occupied the disputed post. At this critical moment, Picton's division, the duke of Brunswick's corps, and shortly afterwards a division of guards from Enghien, came up, and entered into

¹⁶ United Service Journal, p. 478.

action; though every effort was used, and too frequently with success, to prevent our regiments from forming into line or square. 'What soldiers are those in the wood?' said Wellington. 'Belgians,' answered the prince of Orange; who had not yet learned the retreat of his troops from that important point. 'Belgians!' said the duke, whose eagle eye discerned what had happened; 'they are French, and about to debouche on the road: they must be instantly driven out.'¹² this difficult task was committed to general Maitland, with the grenadiers of the guards; who, after sustaining as they advanced, a destructive fire from invisible foes, rushed on with impetuosity; and having, by desperate efforts, succeeded in expelling their adversaries from the wood, never suffered them to penetrate it again during the rest of the day. Meantime the battle was equally fierce on every other point: Picton's division, stationed near the large farmhouse of Quatre-Bras, was exposed to a murderous fire, owing to an advantage which the French possessed, of standing on a rising ground; while our men, sunk to the shoulders among the tall rye, could not return their volleys with equal precision: they were next exposed, particularly the forty-second regiment, to an unexpected charge of cavalry, whose approach was concealed from them by the character of the ground, intersected with hedges, and covered with heavy crops of rye: squares were rapidly formed; but two companies of the highlanders were intercepted; and then, many of those brave men were seen standing back to back, in desperate conflict with the surrounding horsemen, until they were at length cut to pieces without mercy. The third battalion of the Royals also particularly distinguished itself: being removed from the centre of the fifth division, it charged and routed a column of the enemy; after which, it formed a square to receive the cavalry; and though repeatedly charged by lancers and cuirassiers, never suffered the slightest impression to be made on its ranks; the undismayed gallantry of the guards was the more

¹² Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk, p. 103.

CHAP.
LVI.
1815.

remarkable, as they were chiefly young soldiers, volunteers from the militia, who had never been in action before; and when they attacked the French in the wood, they had been nearly fifteen hours on their march, without food. The daring energy of the French cavalry scarcely could be exceeded: Ney headed them in a general charge, down the causeway leading toward Brussels, with a design of capturing two guns, by which it was commanded; but they were received with such a galling fire from our infantry, aided by these pieces of artillery, that it could not be sustained; and the whole road was strewn with men and horses: at this moment, Picton, riding up, ordered his men to advance, for the enemy were giving way: then leading them to the charge, he drove his adversaries from their position with great loss; while their fugitives, who escaped to the rear, spread a panic even to Charleroi. The action however was far from being decided; since the British had but few troops in a condition to pursue, though reinforcements were coming fast up: as these arrived, Ney also became anxious for additional forces, and sent to procure the assistance of d'Erlon's division; but those troops had been previously ordered toward the emperor's army: as the affair of Ligny however was decided before they arrived at that position, they counter-marched toward Frasnes, to succor Ney: but his battle also was then over, and the allies were in quiet possession of the field which they had nobly won, without cavalry or artillery, against an enemy greatly their superior in numbers: thus d'Erlon's troops marched from flank to flank without firing a musket during the whole day. It was calculated that about 35,000 men, including both sides, were killed or wounded in these two engagements: in that of Quatre-Bras, the brave duke of Brunswick fell at the head of his corps, and Picton was wounded by a musket ball which broke two of his ribs, and otherwise severely injured him: this circumstance however was not known at the time; for, expecting that another battle was at

hand, he divulged the secret to no one but an old confidential servant, with whose assistance he bound up the wound; and then, with a command over his feelings almost incredible, continued to perform his arduous duties in the field, until a fatal ball at Waterloo happily released him from his sufferings.¹³ The bulletins of the emperor now announced two victories of a brilliant description: 'Blucher,' they said, 'would be heard of no more; and Wellington, confounded and amazed, was already within the jaws of ruin:' yet Napoleon had been frustrated in his plan of contending with one army before it could be supported by the other: he had been obliged to engage both, and had lost on one side as much as he had gained on the other.

The night of the sixteenth was cold and wet; but the exhausted troops slept soundly on the field of Quatre-Bras: toward daylight some slight skirmishing roused them to arms; but no enemy was visible, and they proceeded to pay that attention to their wounded which the darkness had hitherto prevented. The defeat of the Prussians was not yet known, as an officer sent with that news to Wellington had been either killed or captured on the way: it was not till seven o'clock that this important information reached head-quarters; and then it was reported that the Prussian army, united with Bulow's division, was placed about six leagues in the rear of its former position; ready to retreat on the river Dyle, in the neighborhood of Wavre. The British, flushed with recent victory, and expecting every moment to be led to new triumphs, were now ordered to retreat, for the purpose of regaining communication with their allies, and resuming the plan of co-operation arranged between the two commanders: our old peninsular campaigners knew how often a retrograde movement had been a prelude to victory; accordingly they bore this disappointment with greater equanimity than the younger, and especially the foreign troops, whose confidence was severely

¹³ See Life of Picton, vol. ii. p. 362; where it is asserted that the wound which he received at Quatre-Bras would inevitably have occasioned his death.

CHAP.
LVI.
1815.

shaken by a retreat immediately following so severe an action as that of Quatre-Bras: but the officers of these corps, who were mostly men of character and family, though they began to despair of the common cause, rallied the spirits of their troops, and set an example of gallant bearing which soon produced good effects: the most unpleasant circumstance that had occurred, was the behaviour of some Belgians; who, from wearing the same uniform, injured for a time the reputation of the Dutch forces, and reminded our peninsulars of that 'better part of valor,' which they had seen so often displayed by their Spanish allies.

With spirits thus variously affected by past recollections and passing events, the army commenced its retreat in three columns: the first, under lord Hill, proceeded along the Nivelles road to Braine-la-leude; the second, by the same road, to Halle; and the third, by the Charleroi road, through Genappe, directly on Mont St. Jean. It was about eleven o'clock when the first battalion of the rifles, and the second light battalion of the German legion, the last of the infantry, left the ground: our riflemen, in passing through a splendid body of cavalry, not a man of whom they had seen during the battle, could not help indulging in some of their old peninsular jests about 'the followers of the army:' the cavalry however proved next day, that they could well atone for their involuntary absence.¹⁴

At nine o'clock, the duke of Wellington had received a letter from Blucher, saying, that although defeated, he would be ready to take the field again as soon as his troops had been supplied with bread and cartridges: the duke's reply was, that he would accept a battle at Mont St. Jean, in front of the wood of Soignies, if he could rely on the support of two Prussian divisions: the old marshal instantly promised that he would bring up his whole force; and on this assurance, the battle of Waterloo was fixed.

At half past twelve o'clock, Napoleon learned the real state of affairs at Quatre-Bras: he then deter-

¹⁴ United Service Journal, part ii. p. 450.

mined to join Ney with the main body of his army, leaving Grouchy to follow the Prussians with 31,000 men; a number scarcely equal to Bulow's division, which had not yet been in action. The British retreat was conducted with perfect order and regularity; unmolested, except in one instance at Genappe, where a narrow bridge over a branch of the Dyle can be approached only through a confined street: here an assault was made on our rear by the advanced guard of the French cavalry, consisting of lancers, supported by a great mass of cuirassiers and other troopers; who in turn were attacked by our seventh hussars, with part of the eleventh and twenty-third regiments of light dragoons: the charges made by these troops twice failed; but the French, in attempting to follow up their success, were assailed by the life guards, and driven back on the head of their advancing column: the rain now began to descend in torrents, and continued while the troops took up their intended position in front of the forest of Soignies, which all did not reach before eight o'clock: it was still later before Napoleon arrived at the heights of La Belle Alliance; and his army did not come up in full force till the morning of the eighteenth.

Wellington, having made his dispositions for the night, established his head-quarters at a small inn in the village of Waterloo, about a mile in rear of his position: the army bivouacked on the summit of a gentle declivity mostly covered with standing corn; while the French occupied a ridge nearly opposite, and Napoleon's head-quarters were at Planchenoit, a village in the rear also of his line. Thus arranged, both the commanders and their respective armies waited anxiously for the morn, which was to decide the fate of the French empire: the night, as if the very elements intended to mock the approaching storm of human passions, was dreadfully tempestuous; while furious gusts of wind, heavy bursts of rain, vivid lightning, and echoing peals of thunder, occasioned many a heart to quail, which afterwards stood unmoved the shock of mortal conflict.

CHAP.
LVI.

1815.

Prepara-
tions for
battle.

The dawn of the ever-memorable eighteenth of June broke slowly and gloomily forth from heavy masses of watery clouds which overhung the horizon: the rain still descended; and many began to think there would be no battle that day: it gradually ceased however, as the morning advanced; and by nine o'clock the weather was clear enough to show the British legions in position to their exulting foe, whose chief could not suppress his satisfaction; but exclaimed, while he stretched out his arm with a motion as if to grasp his prey, '*Je les tiens donc ces Anglois.*'¹⁵ The battle ground of Waterloo is an open plain, with undulations; one of the crests of which was occupied by the British position,¹⁶ while the French were similarly posted on the opposite side of the valley, which varies from about 500 to 800 yards in breadth: through the plain, at right angles to both positions, runs the great road to Charleroi, which separated the right of the French, and the left of the British, from their respective armies: it is also traversed by a road leading to Nivelles, which branches off at no great distance from Waterloo. To the left of the Charleroi road stood Picton's division, supported by sir John Lambert's brigade, posted close to the hamlet of Mont St. Jean; and in a hollow, a little farther to the left, was Ponsonby's brigade of heavy cavalry; the extreme left being formed by two brigades of light cavalry on the Wavre road under generals Vandeleur and sir Hussey Vivian.

On the right of the Charleroi road rested the left of the third division under sir Charles Alten, with the household brigade of cavalry under lord Edward Somerset, and some Belgian troops in a second line. To the right of the third division stood the first, under general Cook, composed intirely of British guards, and supported by a body of Nassau troops; the light cavalry in their rear being the brigades of Dorenburg and Arentschild. To the right of Cook, our position took a sweep to the front, and then suddenly fell back

¹⁵ Paul's Letters to his Kinsfolk, p. 130.

¹⁶ In the description of the British position, and many of the details of this battle, use has been made of an excellent article in the United Service Journal already alluded to.

to the right: the extreme right, composed of Dutch troops under general Chassé, rested on Braine-la-leude: the second British division, under sir Henry Clinton, and colonel Mitchell's brigades of the fourth division, occupying the intermediate space: in their rear were sir Colquhoun Grant's brigade of cavalry, two squadrons of Brunswick lancers, together with Brunswick infantry in second line: about 15,000 men were left at Halle, twelve miles distant, for the supposed purpose of protecting Brussels, in case the enemy should succeed in turning the right of our army; and these remained stationary the whole day.

An old-fashioned country house, then called the Château Gomont, but now well known to fame as Hugomont,¹⁷ was situated in the hollow, and fronting the junction of Cook and Clinton's divisions: it had on one side a farm-yard, and on the other a large garden fenced by a brick wall; the whole being encircled by an open copse of tall trees, growing on about three acres of ground. This station, to which our commander-in-chief attached such importance that he ordered it to be defended to the last man,¹⁸ was occupied by the light companies of the guards under lord Saltoun, one battalion of Nassau, and one of Brunswickers; the whole commanded by colonel Macdonald of Glengarry, and afterwards by colonel Home: these were supported by the second brigade of guards, under major-general Byng, placed on a rising ground in the rear, so as to preserve a power of reinforcing the garrison. In front of Picton's right and Alten's left, about half-way across the valley, was a little farmhouse called La Haye Sainte, occupied by the second light battalion of the German legion; and two hamlets in front of the extreme left, called La Haye and Papelote, were held by some Belgian troops under the young prince of Saxe Weimar. Two villages, called

¹⁷ It acquired this name from the mistake of foreigners; the natives laying a stress on the last syllable of Château, and pronouncing the first syllable of Gomont short.

¹⁸ In fact it served as a kind of fortress to prevent the French left from advancing to the Nivelles road, and cutting off general Clinton's division from our main body: so that on this brick building perhaps hung the fate of Europe.

CHAP.
LVI.
1815.

Ter la Haye and Merke Braine, situated on defiles in the rear of our left and right wings respectively, being also occupied, opposed great difficulties to any attempts which the enemy might make to turn our flanks: along nearly the whole extent of the British front was a gentle declivity, which formed in most places an excellent glacis; and behind the whole position was the forest of Soignies, traversed by a broad road to Brussels, with various others branching into it: being free from underwood, and every where passable for men and horses, it secured an excellent retreat for our army in case of any serious reverse; and those who thought otherwise, forgot the affair at Quatre-Bras, where not all the efforts of double numbers could drive the British guards out of the wood of Bossu. Twelve miles to the left, but concealed by forests and rising ground, lay Wavre; whence the re-organised Prussian troops marched at daybreak, eager to take a share in the action; but the roads were so deep and miry, that even officers sent forward with intelligence could not, without great difficulty, make their way to the British army.

Great part of the French had passed the night in the village of Genappe: when they were brought into line, the chief command on the left was given to Jerome Bonaparte; and that on the right to count Lobau, who was posted considerably in advance, with the cavalry of general d'Aumont in his rear: this arrangement was made to oppose a Prussian corps which was said to have escaped Grouchy, and threatened to fall on the right flank of the French. Counts Reille and d'Erlon commanded in the centre; while Soult and Ney acted as lieutenant-generals to the emperor; whose principal station during the engagement was at a public house called La Belle Alliance, in advance of the British line, and adjoining the Charleroi road: the imperial guard was in reserve on some heights in the rear. Accounts respecting the number of forces engaged on each side differ so much, that it is difficult to arrive at the truth: the writer to whom this narrative is so much indebted, estimates the number in our

line at 50,000, the lowest hitherto given;¹⁹ and of these only one-half were British, and soldiers of the German legion: '210 guns,' he says, 'were in position and reserve, together with a rocket brigade, which, for reasons not known, only threw a few of its missiles when the battle had nearly closed.' To Napoleon he assigns 75,000 men brought into the field; 31,000 having been detached under Grouchy in pursuit of the Prussians, 20,000 lost in the battles of Ligny and Quatre-Bras, and 4000 left about Fleurus in charge of the wounded: Grouchy's corps was accompanied by 108 pieces of artillery; so that 240 guns were reserved for the grand army. The French troops not only exceeded their opponents in numerical strength, but were the *élite* of the national forces; exulting too in their defeat of the Prussians at Ligny, and their fancied victory over the English at Quatre-Bras: fearful odds against an army composed like that of Wellington! 'One of our best and bravest officers,' says sir Walter Scott, 'confessed to me a momentary sinking of the heart, when, looking round him, he considered how small was that part of our force properly belonging to Great Britain, and the many disadvantageous and discouraging circumstances under which our own soldiers labored. A slight incident however re-assured him; when an aide-de-camp galloped up, and having delivered his instructions, cautioned the battalion of guards along which he rode, to reserve their fire till the enemy were within a short distance. 'Never mind us,' answered a veteran guardsman from the ranks; 'never mind us, sir; we know our duty.' From that moment, my gallant friend said, he knew that the hearts of the men were in the right trim; and though they might leave their bodies on the spot, they would never forfeit their honor.'

While the allied troops were preparing breakfast, they heard a cry of, 'stand to your arms; the French are moving;' when a large body of cuirassiers swept across the plain with an intent to embarrass their foes

¹⁹ Taking the whole of the duke's force at 70,000, he deducts 4000 lost at Quatre-Bras, 15,000 useless at Halle, and 1000 for stragglers and casualties.

CHAP.
LVI.
1815.

as they deployed: a momentary alarm and confusion arose; but the life guards instantly made a dash at the enemy, who did not wait the shock; and in no part of the day was the inferiority of those cuirassiers to our heavy cavalry more decided, except at the termination of the battle.

Battle of
Waterloo.

The sun was now high in the heaven; and Napoleon delayed his attack, though every hour was of immense advantage to his antagonists; since it brought the Prussians so much nearer to their position: nor was Blucher a man to tarry on his march. About half an hour however before noon, when the French artillery was in position, a gun fired from a British battery on the right gave the first signal of battle: the shot, it is said, was aimed with ominous precision; making a momentary gap in one of the three columns, which prince Jerome had directed against the little grove of Hugomont, and the British position on the Nivelles road: but it arrested not the comrades of the fallen; for many a lofty head was to be laid low before those brave men would shrink from the fight. When they reached the verge of the grove, a discharge of musketry and artillery on both sides commenced; the intire post became enveloped in smoke; and the fire augmenting, like thickening peals of thunder, soon extended itself to the extremities of each line, making the ground tremble for miles around the field: 12,000 men were gradually brought against this important post, the occupation of which by the enemy's artillery would have enabled them to advance into the very centre of the British line: but our men resolutely defended themselves, as in a citadel; and the loop-holes, which had been made in the garden wall, enabled them to fire with great precision. The attack of the first division being repelled, the second, under general Foy, rushed on with such impetuosity, that the orchard was abandoned, and the château itself must have been carried, but for the personal prowess of colonel Macdonald, and the intrepid courage of the detachment of guards to which its defence was entrusted: a French officer, followed by a few men,

made his way into the court-yard; but all were there bayoneted; while the Spanish general, Don Miguel Alava, one of the true heroes of the peninsula, who voluntarily served in this battle on the duke of Wellington's staff, exerted himself, though in vain, to rally the scattered sharp-shooters of Nassau. Owing to the rout of these troops, and consequent occupation of the orchard by the French, Hugomont became, during great part of the engagement, an invested post, indebted for its security to deep ditches and surrounding fences, but still more to the stout hearts of a brave garrison, who kept it in spite of musketry, cannon balls, shells, and flames, till they issued from it triumphantly in the hour of vengeance. Being however thus insulated, the enemy's cavalry were enabled to move round the château in great force for an attack on the British right wing: our light troops in advance were driven in by their furious charge; and the foreign cavalry, who ought to have supported them, gave way on all sides: the first force that offered a steady resistance, was the black Brunswick infantry, anxious to avenge the death of their gallant prince: these troops were drawn up in squares, much like the alternate figures on a chessboard; so that a squadron, pushing between any two, would not only have to sustain their fire on its flanks, but also a discharge in front, from the square that was in the rear: the furious onset of the French troopers seemed as if it would have overwhelmed the small but compact masses opposed to it; but when the Brunswickers opened their steady fire, the advantage possessed by men so disposed was quickly seen: the artillery also, which throughout this eventful day was served with astonishing skill, alacrity, and precision, made dreadful gaps in the advancing squadrons, and strewed the plain with carcasses of men and horses: nothing however could damp the chivalrous ardor of the French, who still pressed onwards in defiance of all obstacles; or if they suspended their attacks, it was but to give opportunities for their artillery to act, which, being only 150 yards distant, directed its point-blank discharges against the almost

CHAP.
LVI.

1815.

solid squares. A general officer observed to sir Walter Scott, that one shot struck down seven men of a square near to which he was at that moment; the next was less deadly, for it only killed three:²⁰ yet under such a fire, and in full view of those clouds of cavalry, waiting like birds of prey to rush in through the slightest opening, did these gallant troops close up their files over the bodies of their dead and dying comrades; resuming with a stern composure that compact array of battle, in which lay the surest means of safety.

After these desperate efforts on the side of the Nivelles road had failed, the rage of battle slackened in this quarter; so that the British again opened a communication with Hugomont, and reinforced its garrison with a detachment of guards, under colonel Hepburn: assaults, however, by the French, were not discontinued during the whole day; but occasionally took place, even while their centre and right were seriously engaged.

The fire of artillery now became furious along the whole line; but the force of the enemy's attack was destined more particularly against our right and centre: small parties of horsemen, suspected to be Prussians, had already been observed on the heights of St. Lambert, six miles distant from the French position; and an officer, with a letter announcing Bulow's progress toward the field, had also been intercepted: time therefore was becoming every moment more and more precious to our antagonists. At one o'clock, a movement on the French right gave notice of preparation: it was Napoleon galloping toward La Belle Alliance, to direct an advance from that quarter; and soon afterwards, four contiguous columns of infantry, too close together to be conveniently deployed,¹ marched down the slope against Picton's division, with shouts of *Vive l'Empereur!* they were supported by two smaller bodies of cavalry, and one of infantry, with thirty pieces of

²⁰ Paul's Letters, p. 154.

¹ This was the great and almost always fatal error of the French, when engaged with British troops.

artillery; and the attack was led on by marshal Ney in person. On the left of these masses were some battalions that proceeded to assault La Haye Sainte; while on the French left of the Charleroi road, a large force, composed of Milhaud's cuirassiers, marched against the British centre: 'thus,' says the intelligent writer before quoted, 'at one point of the line, infantry alone were sent to attack infantry, cavalry, and artillery, combined and unbroken; while at another part of the line, cavalry alone were sent on a similar errand!' On the present occasion, the troops advanced with their usual intrepidity: Perponchier's Belgian division fled at the first onset, few waiting even to discharge their muskets; the first battalion of our rifles, therefore, was obliged to give ground before the overwhelming torrent; but they did so fighting bravely, till they fell back on the main body under Picton.

The enemy's columns were now marching close up to the hedge, through which sir James Kempt's brigade impetuously rushed, and was received with a murderous volley: a frightful struggle then ensued, the English trusting solely to the bayonet, although the French fire had so thinned their ranks, that they were fighting, each man against five or six antagonists: Picton therefore instantly ordered Pack's brigade to the charge, placing himself at its head, with an exhilarating 'hurrah!' which was enthusiastically returned by his men. The attack to be repelled, was, according to the duke's despatch, one of the most serious made by the enemy during this whole day: Picton, who well knew the importance of his presence to ensure success, remained at the head of the line, looking along it, and cheering the men by waving his sword; when a ball pierced his temple, and the gallant leader of the 'fighting division' fell back on his horse: he was immediately placed on the ground; but all assistance was tendered in vain, for the noble spirit had now fled. In the mean time, the wave of battle passed on, and the contending hosts met; while their leader's animating example had so inspired his troops, that nothing could resist their vigorous onset; and the

CHAP.
LVI.

1815.

French columns were thrown so much out of military order by the shock, that they were totally unable to resist the tempest about to burst upon them. It has been already observed, that Ponsonby's brigade of cavalry was posted in a hollow behind Picton's division: their commander now led them on to one of the best-timed charges ever made; for no sooner were the French columns staggered by the fire of our infantry, than, passing through intervals in their line, and wheeling round their left, the royal dragoons, the Scotch Greys, and the Enniskillens, England, Scotland, and Ireland, in glorious rivalry, fell on the foe: the four almost shapeless columns, already broken, were crushed by this terrible onset; the ground was covered with killed and wounded; the artillery was taken; hundreds ran wildly about the field, while our horsemen continued their furious career: many fled even to the British infantry, surrendered themselves, and were preserved behind their ranks as at Vittoria; but 2000 were captured in a body. It was during this conflict, that serjeant Ewart, of the Greys, described as a man of gigantic stature, took single-handed, the eagle of the forty-fifth French regiment;² and another serjeant, named Styles, of the Royals, seized and triumphantly bore off that of the 105th; when two squadrons of his regiment, under colonel Dorville, resolving not to be outdone by the Greys, plunged into a column of 4000 men. Unfortunately, our splendid cavalry, wild with success, pushed it too far, and rushed impetuously up to the level of the French line; but Napoleon, having perceived the rout of d'Erlon's squadrons, had galloped to the spot; and now taking advantage of this rash

² His own account of this exploit, in a letter to his father, ought not to be omitted:—'It was in the first charge that I took the eagle from the enemy: he and I had a hard contest for it: he thrust for my groin; I parried it off, and cut him through the head; after which I was attacked by one of their lancers, who threw his lance at me, but missed his mark, by my throwing it off with my sword on my right side; then I cut him from the chin upwards through his teeth: next I was attacked by a foot soldier, who after firing at me, charged me with his bayonet, but he very soon lost the combat; for I parried it, and cut him down through the head; and that finished the contest for the eagle. After this I presumed to follow my comrades, eagle and all, but was stopped by the general, saying to me—'You brave fellow, take that to the rear; you have done enough till you get quit of it:'—which I was obliged to do, but with great reluctance. I took the eagle into Brussels amidst the acclamations of thousands of spectators.'

advance, ordered a strong body of cuirassiers and lancers to attack the British horse: unable to resist so sudden and impetuous a shock, they retreated under a galling fire of artillery and sharp-shooters; when the gallant sir William Ponsonby, leader of the brigade, fell mortally wounded. In the furious charge, sir John Elley, an officer eminently distinguished for personal intrepidity, was at one time surrounded by the cuirassiers; but being a tall and powerful man, completely master of his sword and horse, he cut his way out, leaving several of his assailants stretched on the ground, and marked with wounds indicating an unusual strength of arm. 'Indeed,' says sir Walter Scott, 'if the ghastly evidences had not remained on the field, many of the blows dealt on this occasion would have seemed borrowed from the annals of knight-errantry; for several of the corpses exhibited heads cloven to the chine, or severed from the shoulders.' Among the privates who distinguished themselves on this occasion, was one whose name, already known in the records of pugilistic fame, became now intitled to honorable notice in the historic annals of his country; this was Shaw, a corporal of the life guards, a man of large stature and uncommon prowess, who is reported to have slain or disabled a number of cuirassiers sufficient to have made out a list for one of Homer's heroes: he received innumerable wounds, though none of any great magnitude; and died of exhaustion during the night in pursuit of the enemy.³

The simultaneous attack made by the French cuirassiers on the British centre had no greater success than that against the right wing, though it was attended with comparatively little loss: they were warmly received with round shot and grape from Alten's batteries, as they advanced across the plain; but pressing onward to the slope of our position, they were there charged by lord Edward Somerset's household brigade, and repulsed after a sharp conflict hand

³ An affecting account of his death is given in that interesting work, intitled 'Paris Revisited,' by Mr. John Scott, p. 150.

CHAP.
LVI.
—
1815.

to hand: during this time, overwhelming efforts were made by the enemy to gain the farm-house of La Haye Sainte, where they had a glimpse of success; for the Luneburg infantry, being seized with a panic, fled precipitately, and broke through the surrounding ranks with only a small loss; but the advancing cuirassiers, overtaking the helpless fugitives, made terrible havoc of them, before they got under shelter: the second battalion of the German legion, however, stationed in the buildings, bravely maintained the post, and kept the whole body of assailants at bay; till the life guards, having repulsed the cuirassiers, fell on the infantry that surrounded the farm, and nearly exterminated the whole; when its former defenders returned to their station.

It was now about three o'clock, and the intire front of our position was cleared of foes: time was flying, the Prussians were advancing, and no impression had been made by the French attacks; though fresh numbers were still ready to replace those that had been defeated: in the mean time, the fire of artillery continued; its round shot ploughing up the ground on each side, or tearing away files from the close and serried ranks; while shells exploded in every direction. Half an hour had scarcely elapsed before the enemy was again discovered in motion; and a large force of cavalry descended into the plain, formed into four lines, cuirassiers, dragoons, lancers, and hussars: they showed no precipitation; but came on steadily, without being arrested for a moment by our cannon, or the flanking fire of musketry from La Haye Sainte, close to which the right of these new assailants passed: the cuirassiers first ascended the slope in gallant style; and the allied infantry threw themselves instantly into squares to receive them, within which, the artillerymen, having fired grape to the last, sought protection, and found it. The French, not perceiving the advantage of this simple arrangement, and thinking they had captured our guns, raised a shout of victory, which was caught up by their whole line; but it was a short-lived exultation: though the firm aspect

of the squares did not at first arrest the advance of their horsemen, and many squadrons galloped forward to the charge, not in a single instance did they preserve their order, or dare to rush on the bristling bayonets: opening out, and edging away from every volley, they sometimes even halted and turned before they received the British fire; when the iron shower rattled on the backs of their coats of mail: thus they flew from square to square, or rode from one side of the compact mass to another, receiving a fire from different squares as they passed, or from each face of the same: some halted, shouted, and flourished their sabres; others rode close up to our ranks; and many even cut at the bayonets with their swords, or fired their pistols at the officers: but in no instance was any effort made to break a square by a regular charge; not a single leader, daring as many of them were, set the example of dashing boldly at the presented bayonet: but men who continued to brave the fiercest fire of musketry and artillery, shrunk from close contact with that British weapon: the few that fell by the fire of our squares was also a matter of surprise: indeed, so many futile charges on one side could not have been made, if the destroying power of the other had been more considerable. Nor were these contests quietly witnessed by the British cavalry: many partial, and several very gallant charges were made against the assailants, between the squares; and whenever the ridge was cleared for a moment, our incomparable artillerymen sprang to their guns, and their grape-shot rattled again among the hostile ranks: when the foe recovered his ground, the gunners sought their former shelter; but only to fly back to their post when the next opportunity occurred. On one occasion, when this manœuvre had been several times repeated, a French officer, who commanded the attacking cavalry, saved his men, by a noble act of self-devotion, from at least one discharge: as the squadron recoiled, he placed himself singly by the piece, and remained waving his sword, as if to defy any one

CHAP. to approach it, until he was killed by a Brunswick
LVI. rifleman.
1815.

After the judgment shown by our great commander in selecting his position, and disposing of his troops, there was but little room for any display of military science, or complicated manœuvres: the enemy's attacks were unvaried, and our defence the same; they continued to rush against our adamant front, we to receive and repulse them: again and again did our soldiers prostrate themselves, to let the storm of death-dealing artillery pass over their heads; then rising, they formed in squares to meet the shock of cavalry; and no sooner were their mailed adversaries driven back, than they deployed into line, to await the approach of heavy masses of infantry. Such a steady and stern performance of duty extorted a reluctant panegyric even from Napoleon himself: 'these English,' said he to Soult, 'fight admirably; but they *must* give way.' Soult, however, who had better experience of their military qualities than his master, replied, 'I think not.'—'Why so?' quickly rejoined Napoleon—'Because they prefer being cut to pieces.' At four o'clock, our position was again clear of enemies; and the French troops, who had been assaulting La Haye Sainte, fell back amid shouts from the exulting Germans: the battle however still raged about Hugomont, where general Cook was severely wounded; but sir John Byng firmly maintained his post.

Not an inch of ground had yet been lost on the side of the allies; when general Dumond, who commanded the light cavalry despatched to watch Bulow's motions, sent notice that 10,000 men, in full march toward Planchenoit, were about to place the French between two fires: decision now became necessary; and it has been thought that Napoleon ought to have retreated from the field under protection of his still numerous cavalry; but he determined differently. The division under count Lobau, about 7000 strong, which as yet had taken no share in the action, was directed to occupy a position in front of Planchenoit, and by aid

of the strong ground between that village and St. Lambert, to arrest Bulow's progress: thus the French army, in its reduced state, was left to perform a task, to which, when complete, it would hardly have been found equal: the attack on our left should have been made earlier in the day: indeed, according to the opinion of many eminent men, Bonaparte committed a great error, by obstinately assaulting the strong post of Hugomont, with a loss of nearly 10,000 men in killed and wounded, instead of advancing against the British left, which was the weakest point in our line, because probably the duke calculated on an early support from Blucher: even if the attacks, thrown away against Hugomont, had been directed on our centre, as Wellington himself anticipated, they would have been attended with a much greater chance of success. To such errors Napoleon perhaps alluded in his own bulletin, when he spoke of 'a battle terminated—a day of false manœuvres rectified—great success ensured for the next day—all lost by a moment of panic terror.'

From the advance of d'Erlon's corps on one side, and of the cavalry on the other, it became evident that the small post of La Haye Sainte could not much longer hold out: accordingly, five battalions were sent to a useless contest with a few hundred men cooped up in a little farm; and then Fortune, being so gallantly wooed, deigned to bestow one melancholy smile on Napoleon's arms: for a full hour the Germans bravely maintained this post; but their ammunition being wholly spent, they were obliged reluctantly to abandon it, and were dreadfully cut up. The French immediately endeavored to make the most of their conquest, and by that mode of warfare in which they peculiarly excelled; for swarms of sharp-shooters, collecting about the buildings, from which they made frequent onsets, poured a destructive fire on our decreasing line: bands of *tirailleurs* advanced so close to the front of our third division, that the fifth battalion of the German legion was ordered to charge them; when the enemy instantly fled; but a body of French

CHAP. cuirassiers, close behind, attacked the Germans before
LVI. — they could form a square, and made dreadful havoc in
1815. their ranks: attempting however to follow up their success, the horsemen were received with a volley from the left of the third division, which occasioned them quickly to draw back: the third regiment of German hussars then advanced to avenge their countrymen, and the French formed to receive these new adversaries, when a short affair at sword's point ensued, without any material consequences: but an interesting instance of the many single combats which occurred during this memorable day was exhibited in full view of the British line, after the main parties had separated. A hussar on one side, and a cuirassier on the other, had been entangled among retiring foes, and, attempting to regain their respective corps, met in the plain: the former had lost his cap, and was bleeding from a wound on the head: yet he did not hesitate to attack his steel-clad adversary; when it was soon seen that the strength of cavalry consists rather in good horsemanship and a skilful use of the sword, than in heavy defensive armor: the moment their weapons crossed, the superiority of the hussar was visible; and after a few wheels, a tremendous stroke on the face made the Frenchman reel in his saddle: all attempts to escape his more active antagonist were vain; and a second blow stretched him on the ground, amid the cheers of the Germans, who had remained anxious spectators of this trial of skill.

While destructive but indecisive conflicts were still going on at La Haye Sainte and Hugomont, Blücher, in person, had joined Bülow's corps: though suffering from the effects of his fall, that gallant old general had caused himself to be lifted on horseback at break of day, and immediately directed his troops toward Mont St. Jean: three corps had proceeded some distance on their way; and a fourth, under Thielman, was already moving as a rear-guard, when some light cavalry, appointed to watch the French motions, announced the advance of Grouchy's army toward Wavre: Thielman was instantly ordered to counter-

march and defend the passage of the Dyle; being there left to act according to circumstances, but not to look for any reinforcement till the principal contest should be decided. The march of the Prussian army was a series of difficulties: the ground was saturated with rain; the rivulets had become torrents; deep pools of water constantly obliged the men to break their files; and the forest roads resembled water-courses, through which they had to wade; while the artillery frequently sank axle-deep into the mud, and had to be worked out by the fatigued soldiers. 'We shall never get on,' was their oft-repeated cry. 'But we must get on,' replied their commander; who was to be seen at every point of this long and tedious line of march: 'I have given my word to Wellington, and you surely will not make me break it! Courage, children, courage, for a few hours longer; and then victory will be ours.'

The thunder of artillery had been long heard in the direction of Mont St. Jean, and officers were constantly arriving with intelligence of the deadly strife going on; but the Prussian troops were still struggling in their impracticable roads, with a certainty of being placed in the most imminent danger if the enemy should prove victorious. At three o'clock news arrived that might have shook the firmest nerves: Thielman was attacked by Grouchy's overwhelming force. Blucher, however, whose moral courage always rose with untoward events, merely replied;—'Tell him to do his best: the campaign of Belgium must be decided at Mont St. Jean; not at Wavre.' The Prussians had been expected to join at one o'clock: it was past four, when two brigades of Bulow's division, with their reserve of cavalry, cleared the passes of St. Lambert, and crossed the swollen rivulet of Lasnes. With this small force, Blucher instantly proceeded to attack Lobau's corps, thrown back as it was to cover the right of the French army, in a strong position extending from the heights above Papellote and La Haye, to the woods of Vinere and Hubermont before Planchenoit: thence issued the first

CHAP.
LVI.

1815.

sound of the Prussian guns; though little attention was paid to it by the allies, until the attack became more decisive. In the mean time, a cannonade on both sides was kept up with great spirit; and lord Hill sent two brigades from the right to replace those in the British centre, which had been rendered unserviceable: men were falling fast at every point; and the confusion in the rear, from runaways, wounded men, and dismounted dragoons, was terrific: the Hanoverian hussars of Cumberland were carried off the field by their colonel in direct violation of orders; while Perponchier's Belgian division, routed at the first onset by d'Erlon's corps, never appeared again as a collected body; but not a single British battalion was shaken for a moment: confusion was behind them, and destruction raged in their front; yet these men stood firm as rocks on their native coast amid the foaming billows: the battle however depended not so much on military skill, as on the power of endurance: this trial was in favor of those who heard the guns of their allies, and knew that the hours of their enemy were numbered.

About five o'clock, Milhaud's cuirassiers, with the light cavalry of the guard, returned to the ridge; the cuirassiers of Valmy were sent to support them, and the reserve of the guard is said to have followed without orders: the charges, or rather feints of charges, against our squares were repeated; but with no more determination or success than attended them in the previous part of this contest: from the cavalry our allied infantry lost but few men in these attacks; though the intimacy of the soldiers with their steel-clad visitors is said to have increased so much toward the end of the day, that they began to recognise their faces: confiding in their panoply, the French horsemen walked their steeds round the ranks, as if to search for a chasm, while musket-balls rattled against their armor: at length, general orders were given to fire at the horses; and when they fell, the riders generally surrendered themselves, and were received into a square until they could be

sent to the rear; a generosity, which was very ill requited this day; for the French spared few lives which it was in their power to take; and the instances of atrocious conduct toward their wounded prisoners were so numerous, that the old revolutionary spirit seemed to be revived, and murder was again the sport of fiends in human shape. No brigade was more subject to the visits of the cuirassiers than that of general Halket: unable to break through his squares by force, a French colonel attempted to effect this object by a *ruse-de-guerre*, and lowered his sword to the British general. Several of the officers called out; 'Sir, they surrender.'—'Stand fast, and fire,' was the reply of their experienced commander, who justly suspected an offer made by a strong body of cavalry, which had the option of retreat into the open plain; and the promptly-obeyed order sent the cuirassiers about, as usual, with a laugh of derision from those whom they meant to cut in pieces. This gallant brigade was honored also with several visits from our illustrious commander in chief: in one of these he inquired, 'how they were?' and received an answer, implying that two-thirds of their number were down, and the rest so exhausted, that permission to retire for a short time was earnestly requested, while some of the foreign corps who had not suffered took their place in the line: general Halket however, was told, that the issue of the battle depended on the unflinching front of British troops; and that even a change of place, under present circumstances, was extremely hazardous. 'Enough, my lord,' was the impressive reply; 'we stand here till the last man falls.' A moment's respite was requested also for the survivors of the thirty-third regiment: 'Impossible,' said the duke again; 'every thing hinges on the firm countenance of the British: they must not move.' The ninety-fifth, being in front of the line, was threatened with a formidable charge of cavalry; when his grace, riding up, roused every martial feeling, by one short but energetic appeal:—'Stand fast, ninety-fifth: we

CHAP.
LVI.

1815.

must not be beaten: *what would they say in England?* nor was there a man that heard him, who did not that moment resolve to perish rather than to yield.

Wherever our squares were exposed to the fire of artillery, the loss was naturally very heavy: on one or two points, they lay under the discharge of musketry; and the twenty-seventh regiment was nearly destroyed in such a situation; but the soldiers in the most undaunted manner stepped instantly into the places where their comrades fell: fortunately, the enemy did not possess, or neglected the art of combining infantry and cavalry attacks; otherwise the result might have proved very disastrous.

While the contest was thus carried on along our line, the French drove the Belgian troops from Papelote and La Haye, and fancied that they had thus cut off the Prussians from the British; but their possession of these hamlets did not retard the advance of the former for a single moment: yet Napoleon had a strong necessity for checking them; since they were now rapidly pressing on his right; and the shot from their artillery already crossed the Charleroi road, to the great terror of the enemy's rear. The concluding scene of this sanguinary drama was indeed fast approaching: the battle was once more reduced to skirmishes round La Haye Sainte and Hugomont, with a distant cannonade from the lines; and during this comparative state of inaction, several of our corps moved toward their left, in order to concentrate the allied forces; while the Brunswick troops were sent to support our third division, and some of Chassé's Dutch regiments came forward into the front: every nerve was now to be strained for the defence of a point, over which the fiercest storm of battle was about to burst for the last time.

The Prussians were already forming in large masses, and the thunder of their artillery was constantly increasing: the British remained unshaken; the day was drawing to a close; and the time for half measures was gone by. Napoleon had still materials for checking his new foes, and achieving a retreat, by aid of his

old guard, 8000 strong, which had not yet taken any part in the conflict; but it must have been with the certainty of an attack next day by the combined British and Prussian armies: besides, he had no resources to which he could look forward, except a reunion with Grouchy; while Russian armies were advancing on the Rhine by forced marches, and the republicans of Paris were agitating schemes against his authority: he saw that his fate was to be decided on the ensanguined field where he now stood; a desperate effort for victory, before the Prussians could act effectually, might possibly drive the English from their position; and he determined to venture on the experiment. About seven o'clock, movements along the French line gave signs, that this last and decisive attack, which the circumstances of the battle rendered inevitable, was about to be made on the British centre; and as general Ziethen's troops were close at hand, the two brigades of cavalry, under Vivian and Vandeleur, which had been judiciously stationed at the extreme left, were brought up to the threatened point. While the first of these, consisting of three fine unbroken regiments, advanced along the ridge, the second, which had been partially engaged, moved in the hollow to the right, where the rest of the cavalry were assembled: in the mean time, the British infantry were drawn up in files four deep;—‘a sacrifice,’ it is affirmed, ‘of half their strength, made for no object whatever;’¹ a wrong tribute to the ill-deserved fame of French columns.

The imperial guards were now formed into columns of attack, under Napoleon's own eye, near the bottom of the declivity at La Belle Alliance: each column was composed of three battalions; one in line, supported on its flanks by the others in close order; two of which advanced, with nearly equal front, and artillery in the intervals, while a third was in the rear: count Reille was ordered to form the remains of his corps also into columns, and advance on the left of the guards; while d'Erlon supported them with similar masses, which

¹ United Service Journal, August, 1834, p. 471.

CHAP.
LVI.
1815.

were to issue from behind La Haye Sainte: but failure was impressed on the very formation of this enterprise: for as the previous attacks of cavalry had been unaided by infantry, this of the imperial guards was destitute of cavalry: the whole was placed under the command of the intrepid Ney; who, as well as the soldiers, was made to believe that the fire of Ziethen's guns proceeded from the army of Grouchy, which had fallen on the rear of the Prussians. A renewed roar of artillery announced the approach of this tempest; and loud acclamations greeted the emperor, as he led his guards in person to the brow of the hill at La Belle Alliance, and, pointing with his hand to the British position, exclaimed,—‘There lies the road to Brussels.’ Never did any army take the field with more devotion for their leader; and he, knowing the extent to which this feeling prevailed, unrelentingly employed its energies, as long as he could hope to grasp the prize he aimed at by the blood of his victims: the first columns that came up, beat back the foreign troops on the left of our third division, and fell impetuously on the remnant of Halket's gallant brigade; whence a close and continued roll of musketry spread rapidly toward the British right, as the guard prolonged the attack of d'Erlon's corps: these veterans were supported by a well-sustained fire of round and grape-shot from their own artillery; to avoid which, our men had been ordered to lie down on the ground, near the summit of their position: but no sooner did the advancing columns approach toward point-blank distance, than the laconic address of the great commander was heard:—‘Up, guards, and at them!’ and so instantaneously was this order, which had been most anxiously expected, now obeyed, that it seemed as if the very earth had suddenly cast forth an armed host: there must have been an indescribable terror in the uprising of those undaunted troops on the spot where all had laid themselves down with a resolution to conquer or to die! but the imperial grenadiers had little time to contemplate the scene; for a close discharge of musketry mowed down their front ranks, and so galled the whole

column, that it halted to return the fire: this act however fixed its doom; for the fifty-second and seventy-first regiments, with some companies of the ninety-fifth rifles, who had suffered but little previous loss, had been stationed in a hollow to the right of the guards, where the position took a bend toward the front: these troops had only to advance with right shoulders forward, in order to come directly on the French flank; which movement was ordered, and promptly executed. The whole world did not contain braver men than those of the imperial guard; but none of earthly mould could sustain the murderous fire with which they were now assailed in front and flank; the artillery being so accurately served, that whole files were annihilated as fast as they came within its range: their heroic leader, Ney, had his horse shot under him; yet he continued at the head of his troops on foot, exhorting them to retrieve the honor of the day: but the old peninsular shout of victory, rising from the light division as it pressed the shattered ranks of its opponents, was caught up, and echoed through the British line: this was immediately succeeded by a general order to advance; and the enemy fled in consternation from the British bayonet. At the very time when our light brigade was advancing against the enemy's leading columns, sir Hussey Vivian descended into the plain, and defeating a body of cavalry that obstructed his advance, proceeded instantly to attack the cuirassiers posted between the protecting squares of their rear-guard: the French cavalry were quickly routed; and our infantry, having free scope to act, followed up their success in complete security. Just as the allied army deployed into line for the last decisive charge, the setting sun, which during the day had been hid by lurid clouds, streamed out in a red glare of light; and his latest rays fell on a vast mass of fugitives, crying out,—‘All is lost; the guard is driven back;’ while they rushed over the field in irremediable confusion, and trampled down those who were still endeavoring to keep their ranks. The outrageous cruelties perpetrated by the French soldiers during the late series of

CHAP.
LVI.
1815.

engagements were now terribly repaid: after our infantry had wholly shattered the opposing ranks, the cavalry took up the pursuit as far as their tired horses would carry them; and at this time, the gallant earl of Uxbridge, whose white plumes and gorgeous steed, as he rapidly visited different positions, strongly brought the image of Murat to the minds of the French soldiers, received a shot which deprived him of his leg. While, on the right, our horsemen were thus seen driving the living masses; on the left, as far as the eye could reach, hill and plain were covered with Prussian troops; thousands of whom had only arrived in time to witness the overthrow of a gigantic military force, which buried in its fall the empire raised by its own valor: but if ever the character of avengers became an army, it was now; for what nation had ever suffered such insults and injuries from another, as Prussia had received from France? Moving in oblique lines, the pursuing armies came into contact with each other, beyond the heights so lately occupied by the French. At or near to Genappe, Wellington and Blucher met, and briefly congratulated each other on a victory far more disastrous to the vanquished than that of Austerlitz; and it was then agreed, that the Prussians, who were comparatively fresh, should follow up the success which had been so gloriously gained. Some little time before this meeting the conqueror had been advised by colonel Harvey to desist from pursuit, as the country was growing less open, and he might be fired at by stragglers from behind the hedges; and his answer was—‘let them fire; the battle is won; and my life is of no value now.’ When he retraced his steps over the field of battle in the dead of night, he had leisure to calculate the price of his victory, mournfully proclaimed by the groans of wounded and dying men: the ground was literally drenched with human blood; and a bright moonlight fearfully exhibited all the horrors of the scene: can we wonder then, that the duke, forgetting the exultation of victory, yielded to the impulse of manly sympathy, and deplored them in tears? ‘My

heart is almost broken,' he exclaimed, 'by the terrible loss I have sustained of my old friends and companions, and of my poor soldiers.'

CHAP.
LVI.
1815.

Toward the end of the battle, Napoleon, with Soult, Drouet, Bertrand, Gourgaud, and some others, were sitting on their horses, covered by one of their few remaining squares, when the duke of Dalmatia pointed out the approach of our cavalry, who were not many hundred yards from the spot. It is said, that the emperor made some exclamation about dying on the field of battle; but if he uttered such words, he was content with the heroism of the speech; for Soult, observing in reply, 'that the enemy were fortunate enough already;' seized his horse's bridle, and turning its head to the rear, left Napoleon to his own instinct, for escaping the sabres of the British troopers. At Genappe, the fugitives made an effort to obstruct the pursuit by barricades; but the Prussians, forcing them in a moment, obtained possession of Bonaparte's carriage, which he had just quitted to mount on horseback: disorganisation and terror were now at their height; the French were driven from place to place by the very sound of the Prussian drum or trumpet; and in some instances they were slaughtered like sheep, without resistance, leaving a large number of prisoners, with nearly 150 pieces of artillery, in the hands of their pursuers: 150 had been already taken by the British on the field of battle. Our own loss was very great: 100 officers slain, 500 wounded, and 15,000 privates in one list or the other, was the high price paid for this glorious and decisive victory: on the French side, scarcely half Napoleon's army was ever again collected under its standards: the emperor, the direction of whose flight lay through Quatre-Bras, Gosselies, and Charleroi, recrossed the Sambre at five o'clock on the morning of the nineteenth; and continuing his route to Laon, made instant provision for the safety of that great arsenal: having then expedited orders for the corps of the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the west, to converge toward the capital by forced marches, he left Soult to collect the scattered wreck of Waterloo.

Flight of
Bonaparte.

CHAP.
LVI1815.
Arrival of
Napoleon
at Paris.

On his arrival at Paris, his first act was to convene a council of state; in which he proposed 'the elevation of himself to a temporary dictatorship, in order that he might repair national disasters at the head of his army.' His counsellors, however, knowing the temper of the two chambers, and the inability of 60,000 troops to sustain the shock of confederated Europe, preserved a solemn silence, until he urged them to speak freely: Carnot then advised that the tocsin of the old republic should be sounded, the country declared in danger, every Frenchman called on to arm against a foreign foe, and the capital placed in a state of siege; that in the last extremity, they should retire behind the Loire, re-organise the army, and raise the whole population: this advice, however, was overruled by the suggestions of Fouché, who was in close correspondence with the allied commanders: in the mean time, the two chambers had hastily met; and being aware of what was projected by the emperor, passed a resolution, that any attempt to dissolve them should be considered an act of high treason; it was also voted, that four of the ministers should be summoned, to explain their master's views and intentions. Napoleon, alarmed at this usurpation of authority, sent his brother Lucien, a man of great energy and talent, with the ministers; and the day passed in altercations, irritating to both parties concerned: at length, perceiving that he had wholly lost the confidence of the national representatives, and that nothing remained for him but to trample on the chambers or to abdicate his throne, he chose the latter alternative; remarking, 'that Frenchmen, like the degenerate race of the lower empire, were disputing, while the enemy was at their gates.'

Abdication
of Napo-
leon.

On the morning of the twenty-second, the emperor's act of abdication in favor of his son, dictated by himself, and written by Lucien, was presented to the chambers, who accepted it generally, without any recognition of his successor: a provisional government was then appointed by ballot, consisting of Carnot, Fouché, Caulaincourt, Grenier, and Quinette; while

five commissioners, at the head of whom was count Sebastiani, were nominated, for the purpose of carrying proposals of peace to the allied armies: these proceeded to Laon; but neither the British nor Prussian general had any inclination to treat with them; and they were directed to the head-quarters of confederated sovereigns at Manheim. The last act of Napoleon's public life was a farewell address to his army; after which, he retired to Malmaison.

The allies had now come to a determination of entering into a treaty only at the gates of Paris; and on the twenty-first of June, their armies passed the boundaries of France. From Malplaquet, the duke of Wellington addressed a proclamation to the people, announcing that he entered the country, not as their enemy, but to oppose the usurper, that foe of the human race, with whom there could be neither peace nor truce. During his advance, the strictest military discipline was enforced: on the twenty-third, he sent a detachment against Cambray, which was taken without much loss, by escalade; and Louis XVIII. soon removed from Ghent to that city. The march of the allied armies now became one continued triumph; Avesnes, Peronne, and other towns, either opening their gates, or being reduced after a slight resistance: Soult, indeed, who had collected 4000 men near Laon, was there joined by the army under Grouchy and Vandamme, who had skilfully effected a retreat from Wavre: at Villars Coteret, a contest took place between those forces and the Prussians, under general Ziethen; when the former, being repulsed, with a loss of fourteen pieces of cannon, precipitately retreated on Paris. The British crossed the Oise on the twenty-ninth and thirtieth, at which time Blucher passed the Seine at St. Germain; their plan being to invest the capital on two sides, for the heights about the city were strongly fortified; while about 50,000 regular troops, beside the national guards and Parisian volunteers, were engaged in its defence; all under the command of marshal Davoust. Two deputations had been previously sent to the head-quarters of the allies

CHAP.
LVI.
— 1815.

to propose a suspension of arms; but the only answer returned was, that 'none would be granted while Napoleon was in Paris, and his person free:' he was at this time at Malmaison; and having come to a resolution of seeking an asylum in America, had made application for two frigates, then lying at Rochfort, to convey him thither: the request however did not suit the views of Fouché and the provisional government; who put off his departure under various pretences, and at length set over him a guard under the orders of general Becker. As the Prussians approached, the fire of Napoleon's character was rekindled, and he persuaded Becker to convey a note to the government, offering to resume the command of the French army, and take advantage of Blucher's rash advance: 'Tell them,' he said, 'that I will crush the Prussians, and then retire.' This offer was conveyed to the members of government, and Carnot advised them to accept it: but Fouché's opinion prevailed; and that intriguer, being alarmed at the emperor's contiguity to the French troops, gave the necessary orders, by which he was permitted to leave the country: on the evening therefore of the twenty-ninth, Napoleon, having taken a last farewell of his mother, sister, and some other relatives, hastened toward Rochfort. Blucher did not establish himself on the left of the Seine without considerable opposition: after a gallant struggle around the heights of St. Cloud and Meudon, the French, with about 10,000 infantry, made a desperate attack on his troops at Issy, which lasted several hours; but in the end they were repulsed: finding then that Paris was open on its vulnerable side, that a communication was established between the two armies by a bridge which Wellington had erected at Argenteuil, and that a British force was moving toward the pont de Neuilly, they sent a flag of truce with a view to the present cessation of hostilities: a communication having been then opened between the blockading armies, proposals were made for this purpose; and a capitulation was concluded on the third of July at St. Cloud, between the two allied commanders on one side, and the prince

of Eckmuhl on the other. By its stipulations the French troops were to commence their march next day toward the Loire, and within three days to evacuate the capital; the fortified posts and barriers of which were to be placed in the hands of the allied forces, while the national guards and municipal gendarmerie undertook the internal duty of the city: the *eleventh* article of this convention stipulated, that public property, except what related to war, should be respected; and the *twelfth* guaranteed the rights and liberties of all persons remaining in the metropolis; who were not to be called to account, either for the situations which they might have held, or for their conduct and political opinions. In 1814, Louis XVIII. had been placed on the throne conformably with the expressed wishes of the nation; he was now to be re-instated solely by a foreign force; for that long contest, which Madame de Stael designated as a conflict 'between a man and a system, each equally hostile to liberty,' was completely terminated: the circumstances, however, under which this monarch resumed his crown, were such, as necessarily produced irritation among the larger portion of his subjects: being intirely in the hands of foreign forces, and scarcely more than nominal sovereign of a country distracted by party and humiliated by defeat, it is not surprising that his measures were at first fluctuating, or that his councils underwent frequent change: a system however of moderation generally adopted, together with an integrity of purpose and an extensive knowlege of mankind, enabled him to counteract the machinations of discontent, and to ward off from his own head that storm which burst over his tyrannical, priest-ridden successor. The principal source of irritation lay in the army, which it became necessary to dissolve, as a dangerous instrument in the hands of faction, and to replace it by a new force collected on national principles: the discontent however thus carried into society by the disbanded troops, was greatly augmented by what has been sometimes deemed a severe act, of resumption on the part of the allies: the galleries of the

CHAP.
LVI.

1815.

Capture
of Paris.

CHAP.
LVI.
1815.

Louvre were now stripped of those trophies of victory, which, while they diffused over the nation a taste for the fine arts, tended also to keep alive that spirit of conquest, which it was so desirable to extinguish: restitution therefore of these precious articles was demanded; for it was said, whether they had been ceded in lieu of contributions, or for the purpose of obtaining more favorable terms of peace, they were the actual fruits of victory, and were now as fairly reclaimed as they had been previously extorted from their possessors: nor could any allegation have been more just and equitable, if public property had not been guaranteed to France by the treaty just concluded: it is true indeed that mention was made of these works of art by the French commissioners, who requested that they might be particularly specified in the eleventh article; and that this application was rejected by the allied commanders: still the exception did not appear, as it ought to have appeared, in the convention; and the 'moral lesson,' which was intended to be impressed on the French people, lost great part of its effect.

Many and anxious conferences took place, before the powers engaged in congress announced the conditions on which France was permitted to retain her station among the European nations: on the twentieth of November however the second treaty of Paris was concluded; when an adjustment of boundaries was made by a cession to the allies of Philipville, Marienburg, Saarlouis, and Landau, with their environs, as far as the Lauter; also of that part of Savoy in Italy, which had hitherto been retained. The fortress of Huningen was to be demolished; the northern and eastern frontier of France, with eighteen fortresses, to be occupied by 150,000 allied troops, at the cost of the French government, for a period not exceeding five years; while, as a remuneration for the expenses of the war, France was called on to pay, at fixed periods, a sum of seven hundred millions of francs, not including the claims of individuals; a prohibition of the slave-trade was also inserted, though the insertion has but very lately produced any effect.

An aristocracy of leading powers was now diplomatically formed in the restored system of Europe; and in order to give the highest possible sanction to their policy, religion was invoked to its aid: hence the origin of that Holy Alliance, for the preservation of peace and legitimacy, avowedly on the basis of christianity, which was concluded by the three monarchs of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and gradually joined by the other European states; England not acceding formally to its stipulations, though she acknowledged its leading principles. Our ministers indeed, when the nature of this phenomenon became a subject of discussion in parliament, affected to treat it lightly, as if it had been rather a speculative fancy of well-meaning visionaries than a practical plan of designing statesmen: but there were not wanting those who viewed it in a very different light; apprehending serious consequences from a combination of military and despotic chiefs, for the purpose of maintaining a state of things undefined to the world, and this at the very moment of their victory over the last remains of the French revolution. Whether any of these apprehensions have been realised, we shall have future opportunities of discovering: certainly, as Heeren has observed, ‘one great difficulty in the way of its beneficial operation was, the defective nature of popular rights on the continent, which leaves several of the most important questions undetermined; such, for instance, as that touching the propriety of intermeddling with the affairs of foreign states:’⁵ besides, the conduct of Russia regarding Poland, and that of Austria toward the Italian provinces, justly cast a shadow of suspicion on the sincerity of its principal confederates: no such union, however, could repress the great antagonist principle of popular freedom, whose struggles soon made themselves felt in the social system; while the character of many continental states, such as Turkey, Spain, and Naples, gave frequent opportunities for the exercise of its powers: the condition of Great Britain, which had risen to an unparalleled

⁵ Vol. ii. p. 441.

CHAP.
LVI.
1815.

height of grandeur by the steady cultivation of that principle, seemed a sanction to others in imitating her example; and as if this were not sufficient excitement, the state of America was ever present to the heated imagination of its votaries; since one-half of that vast country proclaimed the triumph of republicanism, while the other was engaged in breaking the manacles of ancient despotism with every prospect of ultimate success.

France, being placed under military occupation, could not exert much influence at present on the continental union; while the experiment of a new constitution was naturally calculated to soothe for a time the troubled spirit of its volatile population. Louis XVIII. under a vivid recollection of recent events, seemed disposed to adopt a popular government: the sagacious Talleyrand was made minister for foreign affairs; baron Louis being placed at the head of the finance department: marshals St. Cyr and Macdonald were promoted respectively to the ministry of war and command of the army; while Fouché, who had openly avowed a secret correspondence with the duke of Wellington, was rewarded with the ministry of police: the disposition however with which this cabinet began its administration, soon experienced a change, which was indicated by the issue of two ordinances: the first of these declared that thirty-eight peers, who had accepted seats in the chamber summoned by Napoleon Bonaparte, had forfeited their dignity; the second exhibited the names of many officers, who, having taken part in the late acts of that usurper, were ordered to be arrested and tried before a court-martial; while others were directed to withdraw into the interior, and wait there until their fate should be determined on. The duc de Richelieu now succeeded Talleyrand as first minister, Des Cazes was appointed to the police department, and Barbé-Marbois to that of justice. Labedoyère, the first officer of high rank who had joined Napoleon after his return from Elba, was tried, condemned, and executed; when Ney and Lavallette were selected as the next

victims, and received a similar sentence of condemnation. The arrest and trial of the 'bravest of the brave' gave rise to much animated discussion both in France and other countries: few indeed could be found, except those blinded by political prejudices, who did not acknowledge the extraordinary perfidy of the man; though many ascribed it to his irresolute character rather than to deliberate baseness: but it was argued by the marshal's friends, that the terms of the convention were so full and explicit, as to signify a general amnesty; since they expressly stated that 'all individuals resident in Paris at the time of its capitulation should enjoy their rights and liberties, without being called to account for situations which they might have held, or for their *conduct* and *political opinions*:' a different view however was taken of this question by the partisans of government; who proceeded on a distinction of *military* and *political* conduct; and when the duc de Richelieu, addressing the chamber of peers, demanded the condemnation of the accused 'in the name of Europe,' Ney, who rested his defence on the twelfth article of the capitulation, naturally appealed to the ministers of the four great powers to confirm his view of the subject. The opinion of Wellington seems to have been a guide to the rest; and the answer sent by his grace to a note addressed to him by the marshal was couched in the following terms:—'that the capitulation of Paris related exclusively to its military occupation; and that the object of the twelfth article was to prevent any measure of severity, under the military authority of those who made it, towards any person in Paris, on account of their conduct or political opinions; but it never was, nor could be intended to prevent, either the then existing French government, or any French government which might succeed it, from acting in this respect as it might think proper.'

CHAP.
LVI.

1815.

Trial and
execution
of marshal
Ney.

No rightly constituted mind can notice, without feelings of indignation, the calumnious reflections that were cast on the duke of Wellington by political adversaries, on account of this interpretation; as if

CHAP.
LVI.
1815.

the conqueror of Napoleon could have been influenced by any jealousy or pique towards an individual, immeasurably his inferior in all the qualifications of a general, except that of personal courage! No one can have studied the character and conduct of our illustrious commander, without perceiving that a plain, straight-forward honesty is one of its distinguishing characteristics. The interpretation which he gave to the twelfth article was undoubtedly that which he had in his own mind, when the treaty was drawn up; probably also, the same view was taken of it by the other high contracting party: still it is greatly to be lamented that his grace did not accompany his interpretation with a recommendation, or rather a demand, that the life of Ney should be spared. The terms of that article are as general as it is possible to conceive:⁶ it was the height of injustice therefore in the French government to limit them by a particular restriction, for the purpose of taking away the life of an accused person: both the exception of military conduct, and the restriction of indemnity to the military occupation of the capital, ought to have been specified in the article; otherwise it was merely a trap to catch unwary victims; and as it was the inadvertency of the military diplomatists which threw this power into the hands of government, their conduct would have barely amounted to an act of common generosity, if they had taken on themselves the blame of an involuntary error, and requested the correction of it by a general amnesty: that such an appeal would have been successful, there can be no doubt; for the desire of revenge must have given way to a sense of dependence, as well as of obligation. The odium which this transaction cast on the English character in Paris was seasonably counteracted by the humane interference of sir Robert Wilson, Mr. Bruce, and captain Hutchinson in the affair of Lavallette: condemned by the same policy

⁶ The words are 'conduct and political opinions:' the commonest understanding will at once perceive how different the meaning of this article would have been, if it had stood thus: 'political conduct and opinions.' Can any one suppose, that in this case, Ney would have remained in Paris?

CHAP.
LVI.
1815.

which sacrificed Ney,⁷ and liberated from prison the evening before his execution by the devotion of his heroic wife, he was long concealed from the emissaries of police by these generous strangers; and finally conducted over the frontiers, through a series of difficulties and dangers which it would be hard to match even in the works of fiction: the name of the duke of Dalmatia was included in the list of those placed under strict surveillance, to await the decision of the chambers whether they were to be sent out of the country or given over to the tribunals. Soult published a pamphlet in his own defence; but a decree of January, 1817, ordered him to retire beyond the Rhine. A different fate awaited Murat, who once held so distinguished a rank among the French marshals: in a rash attempt to recover his kingdom, he was taken prisoner, and tried by a Neapolitan court-martial; which, having condemned him to death, by one of his own laws, ordered sentence to be put into immediate execution: he behaved on this sad occasion with his usual intrepidity, and refused to have his eyes bandaged: then placing on his breast a miniature of his wife, he received six balls through his head, and died instantaneously. His character as a man was at variance with those principles which Napoleon required from his dependent sovereigns. ‘Your first duty is to the emperor, your second to your subjects;’ was the despot’s stern injunction: but Murat, like his brother-in-law, the ejected king of Holland, had a regard to his coronation oath, and strove to reverse the order of these duties; he not only conferred many benefits on his people, but was extremely generous and hospitable in his intercourse with foreigners; so that under his government, Naples rose from a state of wretched barbarism to a respectable rank among European nations.

Death of
Murat.

But where, during these transactions, was the chief cause of so much slaughter in the field and of

Surrender
of Napo-
leon.

⁷ It is by no means intended to vindicate the conduct of Ney and Lavallette: such perfidy was worthy of exemplary punishment, if it could have been equitably administered.

CHAP.
LVI.
1815.

diplomacy in the cabinet? Napoleon, as already has been stated, arrived at Rochfort, with the intention of seeking an asylum in the United States; but, when about to set sail, he found the port strictly blockaded. As the allied commanders had refused a safe conduct for him to the provisional government, and our cruisers could not be eluded, he determined to place himself voluntarily in the hands of their commodore, throw himself on the mercy of England, and sue for life and liberty to that people whom he had so often denounced as enemies of the human race: accordingly, after some preliminary negotiations with captain Maitland of the *Bellerophon*, he went off with his suite in a brig, and was put on board that ship on the fifteenth of July: thus, it has been observed, an Englishman first showed that he could be conquered, at Acre; an Irishman put a period to his ambitious career; and a Scotchman received him into captivity. From the cabin of a British man-of-war, he addressed a letter to the prince regent, declaring 'that he came, like Themistocles, to seek the hospitality of our nation, and to place himself under the protection of its laws:' as his case, however, bore very little comparison with that of the great Athenian, his letter was disregarded; so that when the *Bellerophon* arrived at Torbay, and subsequently at Plymouth Sound, he was not permitted to land on the British shores. In the mean time, multitudes arrived from all quarters to obtain a sight of this mighty conqueror, reduced to seek protection under the only European flag which never had been lowered before him; nor can it be denied that a considerable degree of interest and pity was excited for the fate of one who had fallen from so high a pinnacle of fame, when the illustrious captive was transferred to the Northumberland; which set sail for St. Helena on the eighth of August. Against this sentence of banishment Napoleon entered an energetic protest, denying that he was a prisoner; since he had surrendered himself to the protection of the British laws, which he had never violated; and of the British government, to whose jurisdiction he was

not amenable. The disposal of his person by the government of that day, is an open question, which has been, and will be, variously judged; condemned by the fearlessly generous, vindicated by the unscrupulously prudent: it never can be seriously maintained, that the mere punishment or mortification of Napoleon was contemplated; but rather the security and peace of Europe against one who might be reckoned 'an enemy of the human race,' and therefore excepted from the general law of nations; and it would have done no credit to the character of those statesmen by whom his destination was fixed, if they had granted to him a title or a residence which might have encouraged hope in his adherents after such a profuse expenditure of blood and treasure. But whatever might be thought respecting the question of justice or injustice, that does not rest with Great Britain alone; for before the battle of Waterloo, it was stipulated between the allied powers, that if Napoleon should be captured, he was to be considered as the common prisoner of the confederates, not of that power by whose troops he might be taken; that he should not be confined in prison, or suffered to reside in the European or continental dominions of any one of those powers; but be sent to St. Helena, and there remain, with only such restrictions as might be judged necessary to prevent his escape.

CHAP.
LVI.

1815.

The subsequent period of the ex-emperor's life was spent in a manner little calculated to secure the respect either of his contemporaries or of posterity: it was sedulously reported that he had to endure many studied indignities; but there is no just cause to credit such assertions. Not only were all his wants carefully supplied, but the conveniences and luxuries of life were abundantly procured for him: his fancies were humored in every particular consistent with security; and even the sentinels posted round his residence were studiously kept out of view: but his days were spent in quarrelling with sir Hudson Lowe, the governor of the island; and in giving vent to the bitterest reproaches against that

Occupations and death of Napoleon.

CHAP.
LVI.

1815.

personage: not a day passed without a long list of complaints; and the preparation of memorials, petitions, and remonstrances seemed to be adopted as a method of passing the time. Sir Hudson persisted in showing him attention and courtesy, till his civilities were thrown back with insult; and if some degree of moroseness was afterwards perceptible in that officer, it could be no matter of surprise to those who knew how deeply he was impressed with the responsibility of his station, and what indefatigable plotters of mischief lurked in the suite of his prisoner. That the last scene of Bonaparte's life should have been embittered with vexation and chagrin, can be no subject of wonder: those restless energies of mind, which, while he was seated on a throne, precipitated him into projects fraught with ruin, were now left unemployed, except, like the Promethean vulture, to torture their possessor: he, whose vanity, fed by success, placed him in his own estimation high above all human beings;—he, who lived for effect; and, like the Pellæan conqueror, would not have been satisfied with one world, after he had exhausted that world's applause;—was now cut off, not only from the scenes of former glory, but almost from the expression of human sympathy: weighed down by mental suffering, and laboring under the afflicting and hereditary malady of internal cancer, he dragged out a few wretched years in the hopeless seclusion of his distant prison, and expired on the fifth of May, 1821.

Public
rejoicings,
&c.

Wellington's despatches from the field of Waterloo reached London on the twenty-first of June, while parliament was still sitting: its thanks, and a public monument to that illustrious commander and his army, were voted on the following day; when lord Lansdowne, with peculiar felicity, observed, 'that the splendor and importance of the victory almost stifled every feeling of individual sorrow; making the fate of the brave who fell, to be regarded as that of men, *quos nefas est lugere.*' There remained no fresh distinctions to be conferred on the duke; but the sum of £200,000 was voted to build a mansion worthy of Napoleon's

conqueror; the earl of Uxbridge was raised a step in the peerage by the title of marquis of Anglesea; and as the regent, in the beginning of the year, had greatly extended the order of the Bath^s to reward our military and naval officers at the conclusion of the war, its decorations were liberally conferred on the heroes of Waterloo: all the regiments which had shared in the glories of its field were permitted to inscribe the word 'Waterloo' on their colors: to every private a silver medal was presented; each being allowed to reckon that day of battle as two years' service in the account of time for increase of pay, or for a pension when discharged: a very important benefit also was extended, on this occasion, to the whole British army, by a regulation, which enacted, that henceforward the pension granted for wounds should rise with the rank of the officer receiving it; so that he who was maimed while an ensign, would, if he became a general, be entitled to a general's pension for his injury.

^s It was divided into three classes; that of seventy-two grand crosses, 180 knights commanders, and an unlimited number of companions of the order.

CHAPTER LVII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1805-1823.

Affairs of India—Lord Cornwallis's second administration—Government of sir George Barlow—Administration of lord Minto—Government of the marquis of Hastings—Consummation of the British power in India; efforts made for the amelioration of its people, &c.—Statistical account of Great Britain during the latter period of the war, &c.—Difficulties encountered in the transition from a state of war to peace, &c.

Lord Cornwallis's second administration.

THE affairs of India, from which our attention has been so long detained by the overwhelming interest of European transactions, must be now briefly considered. The marquis Cornwallis arrived at Fort William in July, 1805, as the successor of lord Wellesley; but he came with a mind enfeebled by the infirmities of age, and influenced by doctrines which the timid and sordid spirit of a mercantile government had forced on his attention: his main object was to relieve the distress now pervading all branches of the public service, by reducing expenditure, and putting an end to contests which bore heavily on the company's finances; while his first acts exhibited a determination to reverse the policy of his predecessor, and, if possible, restore affairs to the posture in which he had left them in 1793: he strongly avowed his disapprobation of all subsidiary alliances; and so great was his anxiety to finish the war with Holkar, and accommodate disputes with Sindia, that if the power of those subtle chiefs, and of the rajah of Berar, had not been already broken, a long succession of hostilities would probably have ensued.

His lordship now proposed a restoration to Holkar

of all his conquered territories: with regard to Sindia, he expressed a readiness to overlook the outrage committed by him on the British residency; and to resign Gwalior, with all its dependencies. In his disapprobation of alliances contracted with native princes, he directed that the rajah of Jyepoor, who had not fulfilled the conditions of his agreement, should be told, it was considered as dissolved; also, to induce the rajahs of Bhurtpoor, Macherry, and Boondée, to renounce our alliance, he proposed to bribe them with portions of the territory conquered from Sindia, south of Delhi, and west of the Jumna: this river he resolved to make the south-western boundary of the company's possessions in that quarter; though, as lord Lake intimated, it never can become a barrier of sufficient importance; being fordable, in many places, nearly throughout the year, above its junction with the Chumbul. Instructions, in conformity with such sentiments, were sent to lord Lake on the nineteenth of September; but that able officer, apprised of the governor's pacific views and altered policy, had so managed matters with Sindia, as to obtain our resident's release; and had submitted to the chieftain a plan for the adjustment of all differences: in consequence of this favorable state of affairs, and his own anticipation of evil from the abandonment of our connexion with the native powers, while the northern provinces were re-occupied by the Mahrattas, his lordship delayed acting on the miserable instructions of the governor; to whom he sent a strong representation of the reasons by which he was actuated: but before this arrival, lord Cornwallis, fortunately for his country and for his own fame, became incapable of attending to public business, and died on the fifth of October: yet 'however questionable,' says sir John Malcolm, 'the policy of some of the last acts of this nobleman may be, or whatever speculations may be made on the causes which produced such an apparent deviation from the high and unyielding spirit of his former administration; no man can doubt the exalted purity of the motives which led him to revisit India.'

CHAP.
LVII.
—
1805-23.
Adminis-
tration of
sir G.
Barlow.

On the death of Cornwallis, sir George Barlow, senior member of the council, succeeded, by a provisional appointment, to the rank and duties of governor-general: he lost no time in replying to the representations of lord Lake, stating his determination to pursue the latter policy of his predecessor, by abandoning all connexion with the petty states of the country, and generally with those westward of the Jumna. It was extremely fortunate for British interests, that so enlightened a man as lord Lake was found at this period in the high and responsible office of commander-in-chief, when the governors of India submitted to regulate their proceedings by such a narrow, selfish system of non-interference.

In the mean time, Holkar, at the head of a large body of cavalry, had proceeded to ravage the company's territories; and Lake, having posted strong bodies of troops to intercept him on his return, had set out about the middle of October in pursuit of that marauder: his operations, however, did not obstruct arrangements with Sindia, which were concluded by a new treaty on the twenty-third of November. Of the former convention, every article was to remain in force, unless it should be altered by the present arrangement: Gwalior, with great part of Gohud, was ceded to Sindia; and the Chumbul was to be a boundary between the two territories; but as this line of demarcation was advantageous to the company, he was recompensed by an annual pension of four lacs of rupees, as well as by jaghirs given to his wife and daughter. Sindia resigned the districts of Dholpoor, Barree, and Rajkerrah, (which were bestowed afterwards on the rana of Gohud) together with all claim to tribute from the rajah of Boondee. The British government engaged to enter into no treaties with the rana of Oudepoor, the rajahs of Joudpoor and Kotah, or any other tributaries of Sindia; also not to interfere with his conquests from the Holkar family between the Taptee and the Chumbul.

Holkar, being thus reduced to extremities, sent agents to sue for peace; and from the instructions

given to our commander-in-chief, he found no difficulty in obtaining it: a treaty therefore was signed, on the twenty-fourth of December, by which he renounced his rights to every place on the northern side of the Chumbul, with all claims on Bundelcund, or the British government: he also engaged to retain no Europeans in his service; while our government agreed not to interfere with his possessions or dependencies south of the Chumbul, and to restore his forts and territories on the southern side of the Taptee and Godavery. Agreeably, however, to the system of policy now adopted, sir George Barlow made alterations in both these treaties: with regard to Sindia, he explained away all obligation to protect the petty states north of the Chumbul, from Kotah to the Jumna; while to Holkar he restored Tonk-Rampoorah, and the territory north of the Boondee hills; abandoning to his fate the rajah of Boondee, who had honorably maintained an alliance with the British government: and this he did in opposition to the urgent remonstrances of the commander-in-chief, who not only pointed out the importance of the district, as commanding a principal pass into our northern provinces; but stated in the strongest terms our obligation to protect that rajah from an inveterate foe, whose vindictive rage had been excited to the highest pitch by the great assistance which he had afforded to the British. No plea of honor, justice, or humanity had, in this instance, the slightest weight with our pusillanimous governor-general; but he remained fixed in his resolution; nay, he even gave directions for dissolving our alliance with the rajahs of Macherry and Bhurtpoor: but lord Lake, apprehensive that, if such an intention only were known, all the powers of destruction would be again let loose on that portion of India, represented his views of the probable consequences so forcibly, that sir George, though he declared that his sentiments remained unchanged, consented to delay for a time the execution of his purpose. Fortunately, this weak and incapable man, who undertook to counteract the grand political system of a Wellesley, abstained from apply-

CHAP.
LVII.

1805-23.

Lord Min-
to s admin-
istration.

ing to the courts of Poonah and Hyderabad those principles of non-interference which he was so rashly pursuing in other directions; and in July, 1807, lord Minto arrived, as the regularly-appointed successor of the late marquis Cornwallis. The state in which he found the country soon convinced him, that a system of neutral policy would be a descent from that height to which we had advanced; leading either to our expulsion from the country, or to the necessity of regaining our former position at an immense sacrifice of life and treasure.

When Holkar returned to his own dominions, his oppressive conduct raised a mutiny among the troops; at the head of whom, his nephew, Khundee Row, was forcibly placed, after having been declared his legal representative: the tyrant, however, having contrived to exact a large sum from the rajah of Jyepoor, employed it in appeasing the greater part of his army; and having thus settled the disturbances, he put his nephew to death: in the excitement of his ferocious disposition, he commanded his brother also to be privately murdered, and afterwards proceeded in such a course of brutal sensualities, as brought on a total derangement of intellect; so that his maniacal extravagances, in 1808, rendered it necessary to place him under personal restraint. This chieftain, as sir John Malcolm observes, 'was formed by nature to command a horde of plunderers: master of the art of cajoling those who approached him, flattery, mirth, and wit were alternately used to put his chiefs and troops into good humor, when want of pay or other causes rendered them discontented or mutinous; but any attempt at intimidation on their part never failed to rouse a spirit which made the boldest tremble: his licentious passions brooked no control; and the sacrifice of female honor in their family was no unusual road with courtiers to his favor: his favorite drink was cherry or raspberry brandy; and the shops of Bombay were drained of these and other strong liquors for his supply: but his ruling passion was power on any terms; to attain and preserve which all

means were welcomed; nor could the most unworthy favorite, of whom he had several, suggest a breach of faith or deed of atrocity, that he would not commit, to relieve the distress or forward the object of the moment. From the hour he commenced his career in central India, the work of desolation began; his object, often declared, being to restore the Mahratta supremacy, by a revival of the ancient predatory system.'

When the British usurpation of power in India is made a subject of vituperation, or likened to that of France in Algeria, let it be remembered, that to annihilate such a system, and to rescue the miserable inhabitants from a curse to which for ages they had been subject, was the grand policy of the marquis Wellesley. As we proceed even in the present brief annals of the Indian government, we shall have occasion to see how impossible it was to control those predatory chieftains, and to prevent the fertile regions of the East from becoming scenes of misery and desolation, except by retaining a control over every branch of their administration, as well as a military occupation of their country.

When Holkar's state of mind rendered it necessary to place him in confinement, the government was administered under a regency, controlled by Ameer Khan, the most powerful of his generals; but Balaram Seit, the dewan, ostensibly took the management of affairs, acting under Toolsay Bhye, Holkar's favorite mistress, a woman as profligate and vindictive as himself: the army however was now reduced to a state of insubordination; and on the departure of Ameer Khan, to profit by civil war in Jyepoor and Joudpoor, an adventurer, named Dherma Kower, seized the mistress with her favorite, and usurped the government till the return of Ameer Khan with his army of Patans and Pindarries;¹ by whom, after fifteen days of hard

¹ Two extraordinary tribes of plunderers in India: the chief difference between them lay in this; that the Patans were associated for the sake of invading such states as they could overpower or intimidate; while the object of the Pindarries was indiscriminate and universal plunder: the Patans in fact were military mercenaries; the Pindarries, cowardly and desperate banditti: against both the British

CHAP.
LVII.
1805-23.

fighting, he was overcome and put to death: Ameer then returned to his ravages in Rajpootana, leaving Holkar's dominions in a state of incurable anarchy. The expedients to which Toolsay Bhye and her minister then had recourse, for the support of the court and army, were of the most horrible description: several of the principal officers were appointed and sent with detachments to plunder the country: these chiefs became answerable to the troops for arrears due, paid a certain sum in advance to the treasury, and gave large presents to the ministers; in return for which, they received a license to plunder at discretion, without regard even to the rights of neighboring states; while the atrocities which they committed in their excursions were scarcely exceeded by those of the Pindarries themselves. 'Every where,' says sir John Malcolm, 'the same scene of oppression presented itself: open villages and towns were sacked, and walled towns were battered until they paid contributions:' and when these marauders departed, loaded with spoil and satiated with cruelty, 'the Bheels, a tribe who are born plunderers, encouraged by the absence of all regular rule, would leave their mountain-fastnesses to seek booty in the open plains: then the villagers themselves, driven to despair, became freebooters, in order to indemnify themselves for their losses by the pillage of their neighbors:' such was the state of Hindostan, before that system of British policy became perfected, which has at length enabled the inhabitants of this interesting country to sit in security under the shade of their own vines and figtrees. On the death of Holkar, in 1811, Mulhar Row, one of his sons, was placed on the musnud; but no change took place in the administrative government, though

government was long obliged to keep up an armed force, and to be constantly on the alert. The chief strength of the Pindarries lay in their being intangible: if pursued, the best horsemen rode off with the booty, and would perform a journey of from sixty to one hundred miles in two days, over rocks and hills, impassable to regular cavalry. They have been known to march 500 miles in one fortnight. Terror and dismay reigned in the country which they visited: where the population fled in all directions, from villages in flames, and from the horrid tortures to which the wretched inhabitants were put, to make them discover their wealth. While they continued their ravages, marauders of all descriptions joined them to profit by their presence.

disturbances occurred from the factions of Sindia and Ameer Khan: all was terror and confusion, till the British armies, in 1817, advanced toward central India.

CHAP.
LVII.
1805-23.

Sindia's territory was not much less disturbed than that of Holkar: his military establishment far exceeded his financial resources; and to quiet his troops, he also was obliged to send them out on predatory excursions; but several of them found employment in subduing refractory zemindars and tributary rajahs: on the death of Ambajee, in 1810, Sindia proceeded to reduce the territory in Gohud, held by his family; and having established his camp at Gwalior, fixed there his headquarters.

The state of affairs at Nagpoor, under Ragojee Bhonselah, partook of the confusion prevalent in the other Mahratta districts; except that, his troops being inferior, his country was still more exposed to the attacks of freebooters. Invited by these circumstances, Ameer Khan, in 1809, under some pretended claim of the Holkar family, carried his ravages into Berar: the rajah had not solicited British aid; but the governor-general could not see with indifference Ameer's army, enlarged as it was by a numerous tribe of Pindarries, encamped on the Nerbuddah, and ready to overwhelm the Nagpoor territory: our troops therefore were put in motion under colonel Close; and lord Minto wrote to Ameer Khan, requiring him to withdraw his troops: that chieftain however in reply denied the governor's right of interference; threatening even the British territory with invasion, in case of any hostile movement: colonel Close therefore advanced, and occupied Seronje, Ameer's capital, whose power might have been easily overthrown: but the governor's moral courage now failed; he trembled at the financial consequences of his proceedings, and the consequent disapprobation of directors: accordingly he retracted the instructions first given to colonel Close, and directed that officer to confine his exertions to the immediate security of the rajah's dominions: thus the great marauder escaped with an unbroken army, the savage

CHAP.
LVII.

1805-23.

instrument of future conquest and oppression: a treaty however was set on foot with Ragojee Bhonselah for the protection of his dominions by the permanent aid of a British force; but before it could be concluded, lord Minto had withdrawn his troops for an expedition against Java, the success of which was in great measure due to that prompt decision and energy, with which his lordship took on himself the responsibility of the enterprise.

As the advance of colonel Close had checked the audacity of the freebooters, so his retreat became a signal for their increased licentiousness. They now overran Berar, and burned one quarter of the rajah's capital: a party in 1812 even went so far as to violate the British territory of Mirzapore, whence they carried off an immense booty; so that it soon became evident that energetic measures must be taken to put them down; and though lord Minto was reluctant to involve the company in a fresh war, yet he left his sentiments regarding its necessity on record, and confirmed them by a report of the ablest political officers then employed in the East: this document, transmitted to England, operated strongly in altering the false views of those who had the supreme direction of Indian affairs, and in preparing the way for that brilliant administration which distinguished his lordship's successor.

No material change took place, at this period, in the relations of our government with that of the peishwa; but the encroachments of Runjeet Singh, rajah of Lahore, led to the decisive step of taking the Seik chiefs, between the Jumna and the Sutlej, under British protection: the miserable policy of sir George Barlow, by withdrawing that protection, had tempted Runjeet Singh to extend his conquests; but he was now compelled to desist from farther aggression, and bound by treaty to maintain, on the left bank of the Sutlej, a force no larger than what was required for the internal management of his own districts.

In 1808 the alarm of approaching hostilities on the part of the French was renewed; when it became

known that an envoy had been sent by Napoleon to the shah of Persia; to counteract whose designs, the governor-general despatched sir John Malcolm as his representative, who proceeded as far as Busheer: but finding French influence predominant, and not being allowed to proceed to Teheran, he refused to negotiate with a provincial governor, and returned to Calcutta: but ministers at home had sent out sir Harford Jones as an accredited ambassador to the shah; and he, on his arrival in Persia, thinking himself at liberty to refuse all recognition of orders from India, proceeded to Teheran, in direct opposition to the wishes and commands of the Bengal government: circumstances in the mean time had changed; and sir Harford found no difficulty in concluding a defensive alliance with the shah, on condition of our granting him a subsidy to support the disastrous contest in which he was engaged with Russia. The governor-general however, not without reason, protested against these proceedings of the British cabinet and its envoy, as degrading and impolitic; leading the Persians to believe that a difference of interests subsisted between the king's government and that of the company.

The same alarm of French invasion suggested a mission to the court of Cabool, which was soon followed by a treaty of alliance; whence a knowledge of the affairs of Affghanistan was acquired, which, according to sir John Malcolm's opinion, was essential to the success of any future measure relative to the most vulnerable portion of our Eastern empire. Some time afterwards the Goorkalese mountaineers attracted notice by their frequent and bold incursions into the provinces of Goorukpoor and Sarun; such excesses compelled lord Minto to address the court of Nepaul in strong and decided terms; but the resignation of this virtuous and able statesman left to his more energetic successor the duty of checking the inroads of a proud and warlike people, whose territory it becomes necessary to describe.

The great Himalayan range of mountains, which forms the northern boundary of India, is skirted by

CHAP.
LVII.

1805-23.

a magnificent forest composed chiefly of the sal tree,² and nearly two days' journey in breadth: between this and Hindostan is an open district, called the *Turaee*, of a rich soil, and valuable for its fine pastures; abounding in the wild elephant, the rhinoceros, and the buffalo; which animals find shelter in the deep recesses of the adjoining forest: but the insalubrity of its climate prevents the establishment of any large towns on this tract; and its population is for the most part migratory, retiring to the hills at the approach of the unhealthy season. From time immemorial, the country within the hills, and on the borders, had been divided among petty rajahs; while the forest, with the *Turaee*, remained a natural and constant object of contention: a chieftain, possessing fastnesses on the hills, could always enforce contributions by incursions, from which he retreated to his strongholds; and every rajah of the hills had a portion of the forest and low country attached to his territory; which he was constantly endeavoring to extend in a sort of border warfare: thus feuds were transmitted from father to son, as was formerly the case in the Scottish highlands. When the rajahs of the plains became subject to the Mahometan yoke, those of the hills retained their ancient independence; and such was the state of the frontier, till the low countries fell under our dominion; when the hills were gradually overrun by the Goorkalese, and consolidated by them into one empire. The British, after the extinction of the Mogul sovereignty, left the low rajahs in the enjoyment of their territories, on payment of a fixed land-tax; but the Goorkalese, as each hill chieftain fell before them, exterminated the family, taking up the contests and claims of those whom they had so treated: this brought them into contact with the zemindars under our protection, who generally had no alternative but to surrender the object in dispute; for unless the encroachment was outrageous indeed, how could the unfortunate zemindar expect to interest the high authorities in his favor?

² The *Shorea robusta*, very useful for ship-building.

especially as our government was no great looser by the usurpation; and inclined to look on the Goorkalese in the light of well-disposed neighbors, whom it was advisable to conciliate: some time, however, before the period which we are now contemplating, this people became so emboldened by the supineness of our government, that their aggressions attracted the notice of lord Minto; when the Goorkalese commandant of Valpa, Umur Singh Thappa, replied to a remonstrance made by the governor-general,—that he had a distinct right to all the territory which he had taken. Attempts were made in 1812, and the following year, to adjust all disputes by negotiation; but the Nepaulese commissioners showed no disposition to recede from their claims; and in this state were affairs found by lord Hastings, when he commenced his brilliant administration. That illustrious governor, and worthy successor of lord Wellesley, arrived at Calcutta in October, 1813; when almost the first object which engaged his attention was the dispute with the Nepaulese government. The reply to lord Minto's letter, who had demanded restitution of two invaded districts, distinctly asserted the right of that government to both; amicable negotiations however were still tried, but in vain; a military force therefore was sent into the disputed territories, and placed under the management of civil officers; but no sooner were the troops withdrawn, than an attack was made by the Goorkalese, who slew eighteen persons, wounded six more, and put the superior local officer to death with circumstances of great barbarity: after this, another attack was made on one of our outposts, which occasioned a farther loss of life: still a formal declaration of war was withheld, that persons engaged in commerce might have an opportunity to withdraw their capital, and the Goorkalese rajah to disclaim his outrages. Instead, however, of pursuing this line of conduct, he boldly avowed and justified them; while he caused active military preparations to be made along the whole Nepaulese frontier; an extent of about

Arrival
of lord
Hastings.

CHAP.
LVII.

1805-23.
Nepaulese
war.

600 miles. War was declared at Lucknow on the first of November, 1814.

At this time the rajah was in his minority, and the powers of government were exercised by the family of Thappa. Bheem Sein Thappa, who assumed the title of general, had the chief management of affairs in the capital: his brother, Umur Singh, having been long at the head of a great army, had pushed his conquests so far west of the Gograh, and acquired so vast a power, that the national sentiments of his troops, or his own patriotism, alone prevented him from claiming independence: he now occupied a line of posts round Irkee and Balaspoor, including the strong fortresses of Ramgurh and Maloun. A long debate is said to have occupied the Goorkalese warriors on the question of peace or war with the British government; and some in the council were apprehensive of the result: 'We have hitherto,' said they, 'been hunting deer; but if we engage in this contest, we must prepare to fight with tigers.' The advocates for war insisted principally on the strength of their hill country, which not even Alexander the Great had been able to subdue; and allusions, implying contempt of the English, were made to their defeats at Bhurtpoor: Bheem Sein took this view of the question; and his opinion prevailed.

Lord Hastings, having resolved to act offensively against the whole line of the enemy's frontier, from the Sutlej to the Koosee, formed his army into four divisions: the first, of 6000 men, at Dinapoor, under general Marley, was intended to push on to Katmandoo, the capital of Nepaul; while the second of 3000, under general S. Wood, at Benares, should proceed to Palpa: the third, at Meerut, under general Gillespie, was to gain the post of Nahn, and then rush on toward the Sutlej; but the last, consisting of less than 3000, under general Ochterlony, was destined to advance from Loodeana against the strong posts held by Umur Singh Thappa, in the hilly country of the Sutlej, and eventually to co-operate with the third division: beyond the Koosee, eastward, major Latter was sta-

tioned with 2000 men, to defend the Poorneah frontier, and endeavor to act with the rajah of Sikkim: such were the dispositions made for the most arduous campaign in which our Indian government had yet been engaged.

Major-general Gillespie was the first to penetrate the enemy's frontier, by seizing the Keree pass leading into Doon, and advancing to Dehra, the principal town of the valley: about five miles farther is the fort of Kalunga, crowning an isolated hill about 500 feet in height; where Bhulbudder Singh, nephew of Umur, had stationed himself with 600 men. A summons of surrender was sent to this chief about midnight; but he tore in pieces the letter; saying, it was not customary to receive or answer letters at such unseasonable hours: however, he sent his *salaam* to the British *sirdar*, with an assurance that he would soon pay him a visit in his camp. Misled in some degree by false information, general Gillespie sent forward a detachment to take the fort by assault; but this was found impracticable; and when he advanced with his whole division, he was repulsed with great loss: he then headed a second attack in person, but fell from a shot, while he was in the act of cheering his men; and his aide-de-camp also was killed by his side. Colonel Mawbey, on whom the command devolved, led off the troops to Dehra, until a battering train arrived from Delhi: by means of this, a breach was effected, but in vain were the men exhorted to storm it; and a retreat was sounded before a petty fortress, which had already cost the assailants more lives than the intire number of its garrison: recourse was then had to bombardment; a measure which ought to have been adopted in the first instance: this succeeded; and Bhulbudder, after resisting his antagonists until the whole area of the fortress was like a slaughter-house, retired secretly with about seventy men, the remainder of his garrison. The command of the third division was now given to general Martindell; who, after driving the enemy from the town of Nahn, engaged their army in a very disadvantageous position among the

CHAP.
LVII.
1805-23.

heights that surround the fort of Pythuk; and having suffered a total defeat, was obliged to intrench himself at Nahn: neither were the operations of the first and second divisions more successful; so that a very unfavorable opinion of the British arms was spreading itself in the country, until the conduct of general Ochterlony restored their lustre. This able commander, who was opposed to Umur Singh in person, formed, from the first, a just estimate of his opponent's character, and the difficulties of his own enterprise: advancing therefore with great caution, he resolved to leave nothing to hazard; but constructed a road for his artillery, after much labor, and sat down with a heavy battering train before the fort of Nalagurh, on the first of November: he had breached the wall, when the garrison surrendered on the sixth, and capitulated also for a strong stockade on the same ridge, called Talagurh; but Umur Singh came down the same day, and took a position on the higher ridge of Ramgurh, one of the Himalayan ranges; each of which, as it approximates to the centre of that stupendous chain, towers over those before it.

During November, the general was busily occupied in reconnoitring Umur Singh's position; and the intelligence which he received of the failures of our second division made him doubly cautious: accordingly, he waited for a reinforcement, and occupied his time in winning over the rajah of Plaseea; whose aid he obtained to make a road for artillery: when his troops and guns came up, Umur Singh quickly moved his quarters to the stronger post of Maloun, fearing lest it should be pre-occupied by the British: in the mean time, his ally, the rajah of Belaspoor, was brought to submission; though a considerable time was consumed in reducing the Ramgurh forts. By dint of great exertion, an eighteen-pounder was dragged up to the batteries: on the sixteenth of January, the face of the great fortress of Ramgurh was laid in ruins; and the garrison capitulated for itself, as well as for that of Joorjooree, to march out with the honors of war: but the two commanders, on joining Umur Singh, lost

their ears and noses, as a punishment for not defending their posts to the utmost extremity: Taragurh and Chamba, on the same ridge, surrendered, like the others, to colonel Cooper; who, after the whole chain of forts in the rear had been reduced and occupied, joined the main army to take part in the final operations against Maloun: by the fourteenth of April, every thing was prepared for a combined movement.

CHAP.
LVII.

1805-23.

Umur Singh's position consisted of a line of fortified posts, on a lofty and difficult ridge projecting into the Sutlej, between the Gamba and Gumrorah: between its extreme points, at the stone forts of Maloun and Soorujgurh, were several intervening peaks, each crowned with a stockade, except two, called Rylapeak and Deothul; the former well situated for operations against Soorujgurh; the latter in the very heart of the Goorkalese position, and not more than 1000 yards from Maloun: of these the general determined to obtain possession; and Rylapeak was gained with no great difficulty; but the occupation of Deothul occasioned a very severe contest. During the darkness, every effort was made to throw up defences round it, from a conviction that the struggle for that post was yet to come: it was indeed a night of great anxiety to both parties; and Bukhtyar Thappa, Umur Singh's best officer, seeing the operations that were going forward, repaired to Maloun to urge on his master the necessity of dislodging the British from their position: 2000 of the choicest Goorkalese troops were accordingly selected for this desperate enterprise, under the command of Bukhtyar himself, who silently placed them in ambuscade, under cover of the darkness; and, at the dawn of day, our position was assailed at once on every side where it was accessible: the enemy came on with such fury, that several were bayoneted, or cut to pieces, within the works; Umur Singh remaining on a height, with the Goorkalese colors planted beside him; while Bukhtyar was found at all points, exciting his men, and moving with them to every fresh attack. The Goorkalese troops, being particularly anxious to obtain possession of our guns, directed their

CHAP.
LVII.

1805-23.

fire with such effect, that, at one time, three officers and one man alone remained to serve them: but the British commandant at Rylapeak, observing the desperate nature of this conflict, sent a reinforcement with ammunition, which arrived most opportunely: after the contest had continued two hours without intermission, the enemy began to slacken their efforts, and the British general resolved to assume the offensive: a charge therefore was made, in which Bukhtyar was slain, and the victory decided, after above 500 men had fallen. In the course of the day, the Goorkalese sent a request for the body of their brave commander; which, being found covered with wounds at the foot of our defences, was wrapped in rich shawls, and sent by general Ochterlony with every mark of respect: his countrymen, by whom he was greatly beloved, loudly bewailed his loss, exclaiming, that 'now indeed the blade of their sword was broken.' He had assured Umur Singh that he would return victorious, or return no more: he had also given notice to his two wives to prepare for their *suttee*, as he had little hope of surviving; and both are said to have sacrificed themselves next day on his funeral pile.

During the night, the Goorkalese deserted all their posts on the farther side of Deothul, including even Soorujgurh; and Ochterlony then threw his lines around Maloun. Early in May, a battery was raised against it; when all his *sirdars* urged Umur Singh to make terms for himself, as well as for his son, at Jythuk; but the old chief would not listen to their proposal; declaring, that if they did but hold out till the rainy season, the British army must withdraw: still farther discouragement was at this time produced among them, by tidings of the fall of Almorah, the capital of Kumaon; which was the result of a series of spirited operations on the side of Rohilcund, planned by lord Hastings as a diversion in that quarter. Considerable desertion now took place in the Goorkalese army, until Umur's pertinacity in refusing to negotiate induced nearly all his officers, with their men, to surrender themselves prisoners of war; leaving him with about 250 adherents, who alone remained

faithful to their commander: with these he shut himself up in the fortress, until the batteries were about to open on its walls; when, yielding to his fate, this proud chieftain, on the fifteenth of May, signed a capitulation, giving up his last stronghold, and resigning to our government every province from Kumanoon westward to the Sutlej: in the treaty Runjoor Singh was included; and general Ochterlony had the honor of obtaining also the surrender of Jythuk. The greater part of this conquest was obtained by native troops alone, a few artillerymen being the only Europeans under our standard: three battalions of the Goorkalese were immediately admitted into our service; and a provincial corps was raised for civil duties in Kumaoon, which became a British province: the various chiefs also, who had been despoiled of their territories in the hill country, were restored, and wisely placed under British protection.

The court of Nepaul, however, was not yet sufficiently humbled to submit to sacrifices considered necessary as conditions of peace. The *Turaee* was not the sole object of contention; but the reception of a British resident at their capital, appeared to these haughty mountaineers, who still retained a high opinion of the strength of their fortresses, to be a preliminary step to their actual subjugation: such sentiments were encouraged by Umur Singh and his sons, who were among the warmest advocates for continuing the war: after some negotiation therefore, the proposed treaty was finally rejected, and the passes in the first range of hills were secured with fortifications that were thought impregnable. Anticipating the probability of these events, lord Hastings had ordered sir David Ochterlony to take the field in December 1815, at the head of about 20,000 effective troops, including three European regiments: by the tenth of February, that excellent officer had crossed the forest, and established himself at the foot of the grand pass of the Bicheea Koh: the works indeed were found unassailable; but a secret route being discovered, the position was turned, and consequently abandoned. On the

CHAP.
LVII.
1805-23.

Conclusion
of peace.

twenty-seventh, our commander reached the fine valley of the Raptée, and moved up to Mukwanpoor, where a skirmish of posts took place, which led to a general action: the Goorkalese forces were there utterly routed; the red seal was hastily affixed to the once rejected treaty; and an envoy despatched, who presented it kneeling before the general's *darbar*. The articles were now all punctually executed; but lord Hastings deemed it good policy to restore to the Goorkalese such parts of the *Turaee*, as were not required for the purpose of forming a straight line of frontier: the part adjoining Oude was given up to the vizir in payment of a loan of a crore of rupees, advanced by him in support of the war; and a small portion was assigned to the rajah of Sikkim, with whom a treaty of alliance was signed in February, 1817.

The same year, in which this contest with the Nepaul government commenced, saw the British dominion established throughout Ceylon, where the government of the king of Kandia had become so tyrannical and oppressive, that many females emigrated from his dominions to the British portion of the island: some of the chiefs also solicited military aid to shake off a yoke which they found intolerable; and an act of brutal outrage, soon afterwards committed by this barbarian, gave an additional force to their appeal. Ten of the natives, resident in the British province of Kolumbo, were suddenly seized when trading within the Kandian frontiers, and so cruelly mutilated by the king's order, that only three survived; and these were sent back in a state that excited universal indignation; their amputated members being suspended round their necks. A part of the nation having raised the standard of revolt, the progress of hostilities soon brought a body of armed royalists into the British territories, where they committed many excesses: this induced the governor to undertake an expedition against the capital, from which the vile tyrant fled at the approach of our troops; and an ancient kingdom was conquered without the loss of a single life: in a grand council held by gene-

ral Brownrig, the chiefs and provincial deputies concurred in the dethronement of the captive king, the exclusion of his family from the throne, and the grant of sovereignty to his Britannic majesty.

CHAP.
LVII.

1805-23.

Although the ample employment which the Nepaulese war afforded, had rendered it necessary for the supreme government to abstain from contests in other quarters, yet the rapidly increasing power of the predatory tribes of Pindarries and Patans³ rendered it evident that measures must soon be taken to suppress so enormous an evil. The chief leader of these savage plunderers was Ameer Khan, a Patan chief, who frequently associated a band of the more infamous and numerous Pindarries with his Patan mercenaries. The most effectual means of precaution against these marauders, seemed to be the establishment of a subsidiary alliance with Ragojee Bhonselah; but it was found impossible to conquer his repugnance to such a measure: the next alternative which presented itself, was to extend our chain of positions from the British frontier in Bundelcund to the Nerbuddah, by means of a connexion with the states of Saugur and Bhopaul; and this policy appeared the more advisable, in consequence of information respecting a pending negotiation between the Bhonselah and Sindia, for an offensive and defensive alliance; one object of which was a combined attack on the Bhopaul territory; the preparations for it being of so formidable a nature, that the destruction of the nabob seemed inevitable: so that he earnestly solicited an alliance with our government. This potentate had peculiar claims on British gratitude, and his request was acceded to; not however without vehement remonstrances from Sindia, and some demonstrations of an attack on our troops assembled to support the negotiations; but ultimately his army was withdrawn. The peishwah and Ragojee Bhonselah pretended to acquiesce in this arrangement; but the latter died in March, 1816, and was succeeded by his son Pursajee, who soon fell into a state of idiotcy; when his cousin,

Suppression of the
Pindarries,
&c.

³ See note p. 625.

CHAP.
LVII.

1805-23.

Appa Sahib, was chosen regent, though not without a violent opposition. In this unsettled state of his affairs, Appa Sahib voluntarily sought that subsidiary alliance which had been proposed to Ragojee; and our government readily agreed to furnish him with six battalions and a regiment of cavalry: this event, however, struck a serious blow against a secret confederacy carried on against the English among the Mahratta powers, of which the court of Poonah was a nucleus: it was not long, therefore, before Appa Sahib was persuaded to dissolve his alliance; but being apprehensive, that if he cast aside British support during the lifetime of Pursajee, a party might be raised to endanger his own authority, he caused the young rajah to be strangled in the night of the thirtieth of January, 1817; and then entered into an active, but secret correspondence with the peishwah.

In the mean time, during last year, the aggressions of the Pindarries had alarmingly increased: it was ascertained that these freebooters had resolved to respect the territories of the Mahratta chieftains, and direct their ravages principally against the Nizam, and his British allies. For twelve days they remained within the company's districts, committing every species of depredation and atrocity; so that, during this short period, it was calculated that 339 villages were plundered, 182 individuals put to a cruel death, 505 severely wounded, and 3603 subjected to various kinds of torture: no fewer than twenty-five women drowned themselves to escape pollution; and the private losses of individuals were estimated at about £100,000 sterling.⁴ To obviate the suspicion which such circumstances tended to excite, the peishwah sent a party of horse, to plunder in his own country, who gave themselves out to be Pindarries; nor did the wretched inhabitants suffer less injury than might have been expected from those, of whom they were the nominal representatives: Sindia professed great anxiety to suppress them, but they were countenanced by his

⁴ Prinsep, vol. i. p. 334.

commanders; and it was evident, that neither he nor Holkar were willing or able to restrain their dependants.

CHAP.
LVII.
1805-23.

For ten years immediately following the treaty of Bassein, nothing had occurred to interrupt the harmony existing between the court of Poonah and that of Calcutta: Bajee Row, secure against foreign attack, paid great attention to the improvement of his resources; and though he manifested a disposition to maintain secret correspondence with the Mahratta chieftains, this was long winked at; until the ascendancy, which was gained over his mind about the year 1815, by Trimbukjee Dainglia, an artful and wicked man, who from the state of a menial servant was raised to that of chief minister, decidedly changed his policy, and engaged him in secret intrigues against his allies. An atrocious murder committed by him on the person of Gandagur Shastree, a Brahmin of the highest order, and minister of the Guickwar, within the consecrated walls of a pagoda, occasioned a demand that he should be given up to the British government, whose extreme lenity towards atrocious criminals in India has ever been one of its greatest errors; and this murderer, a wretch stained with a thousand crimes, and disgraced by vices which disgusted even an Indian court, was placed in a splendid though strict confinement, from which he soon contrived means to escape.

Bajee Row, however, was only stimulated by the loss of this vile minister, and pander to his obscene pleasures, to carry on with increased zeal intrigues against our government; and the escape of Trimbukjee, who remained in the mountains, collecting troops, and disposing agents throughout the country, favored his designs: at the same time, such extensive levies of horse and foot were going on at Poonah, so many fortresses were repaired, and so large a portion of the peishwah's treasure was carried away, that Mr. Elphinstone, our resident, could no longer mistake his intentions: he therefore resolved to call in the subsidiary force, while he waited

CHAP.
LVII.
1805-23.

for instructions from the governor-general: these he received in May; and Bajee Row was required, under pain of being treated as an enemy, to surrender Trimbukjee, make certain concessions of territory, and renounce all supremacy over the Mahratta empire. After a severe struggle, and trying every means of evasion, the deceitful peishwah was induced to sign this treaty, with an intention of violating it on the very first opportunity.

The governor-general had at length come to a determination of taking measures to suppress the Pindarries; having received permission from the court of directors to drive those wretches from their haunts on the Nerbuddah and in Malwah: his own views, however, were far more wise and comprehensive; for he meditated their intire suppression, by eradicating the predatory system from central India: the plan of extermination now projected was similar to that pursued by the great Aurungzebe in his hunting of wild animals: the courts of Poonah and Berar being put out of the question, the attention of our government was directed to the possessions of Sindia, Holkar, the Rajpoors, the nabob of Bhopaul, and the chiefs of Bundelcund. Armies were ordered to assemble round those districts, which, by gradually contracting their circle towards a common centre, might hem in the Pindarries, with their adherents, on all sides: nor did lord Hastings hesitate boldly to assume the principle, that in these operations no state could be suffered to remain neutral; whence it happened, that an enterprise, undertaken primarily against a wandering tribe of freebooters, ended in the suppression of the great and dangerous power of the Mahrattas. Orders for a simultaneous movement were issued about the end of September, 1817: the army of Bengal, which took the field, consisted of 34,000 regulars, including nearly 5000 cavalry: that of the Deccan, which was placed under the command of sir Thomas Hislop, including a reserve at Adwanee, with different corps at Poonah, Hyderabad, and Nagpoor, amounted to 57,000 regulars; of which 5250 were

cavalry; about 23,000 irregular horse also were attached to the grand divisions, which were ordered to rendezvous at the most convenient spots for carrying on offensive operations: a judicious manœuvre of the divisions under lord Hastings and general Donkin, by placing Sindia's camp between them, left to that chief no other alternative, in the event of his disobedience, except that of shutting himself up in Gwalior, or joining the Pindarries. His lordship had received indisputable proof that Sindia was pledged to support them; and that in his determination to take the field, he would be followed by Ameer Khan, and other potentates, with whom he was in active correspondence: he was now therefore required to concur in the great object of our government, by placing his troops at its disposal; a British officer being appointed to superintend each division, and British garrisons admitted into his forts of Hindia and Asseerghur, to remain during the war: anxiously watching the result of what was passing with the other Mahratta powers, Sindia evaded, as long as possible, the signature of this treaty; but was at length induced to accept its terms; and this ostensible defection from a cause, of which he was considered the main stay, was of great importance to our operations. Ameer Khan followed this example, and agreed to disband his army on certain conditions: the Kerowlee rajah acknowledged British supremacy, and received a guarantee for his dominions: Zalim Singh, regent of Kotah, also acceded to the terms proposed, and agreed to block up all the passes leading into his country: in Bundelcund, Windek Row, the chief of Saugur, rejected them; while they were readily accepted by the rajahs of Simpthur and Jhansee: but the nabob of Bhopaul entered most heartily and sincerely into our cause.

The Pindarries, aware that offensive operations on a large scale were meditated against them, had been actively employed in assembling and recruiting their forces; but a want of combination among their chiefs prevented them from forming any consistent plan of action: they were cantoned in three bodies under

CHAP.
LVII.

1805-23.

Cheetoo, Kureem Khan, and Wasil Mohanmed : Sheikh Dulhoo, the most adventurous of their partisans, declared his intention to join Trimbukjee in an expedition against the Deccan ; while the rest were distracted in opinion, and inclined to wait for an expected rise of the Mahrattas. In the mean time, just as the British forces had arrived at their destined points, and the concerted plan was about to be put into execution, intelligence reached sir Thomas Hislop at Hurda, that the peishwah had thrown off the mask, and risen up in arms : during the whole of October, Bajee Row had been collecting troops from all quarters, under a pretence of aiding us in the Pindarrie war ; but his intentions soon became apparent to the resident, from a discovery of his efforts to seduce British sepoy from their allegiance ; of whom a large proportion in major Ford's battalions, being Mahrattas, were naturally won over. It was the peishwah's design, before he commenced hostilities, to invite Mr. Elphinstone to a conference, and there murder him ; but from the commission of this atrocity he was deterred by Bappoo Gokla, leader of all his enterprises, and the best cavalry officer among the natives of India : accordingly, at their last interview on the fourteenth of October, his highness renewed to Mr. Elphinstone fervent expressions of good will and gratitude toward our government ; with an assurance that his troops should be quickly sent to the frontier, for the purpose of co-operating with its armies : in the mean time, as general Smith's force was at a distance, and a European regiment, ordered from Bombay, could not be expected in less than ten days, the safety of the resident, as well as of the British forces, became very precarious : parties of horse now came out, and gradually encamped around their cantonments, continually increasing in numbers ; while a strong corps of infantry occupied a position on one of their flanks. Notwithstanding these formidable preparations, Mr. Elphinstone, being unwilling to commence hostilities, confined himself to remonstrances, while night after night was passed in anxious suspense : still the peishwah hesitated, against the recom-

mendation of his general; and on the thirtieth, the expected regiment arrived from Bombay.

CHAP.
LVII.

1805-23.

The resident now determined to remove our troops from their exposed situation to the village of Kirkee, about four miles distant; and on the first of November, they encamped on that spot: but the peishwah, supposing that they had retired through fear; and believing, from the reports of his emissaries, that our sepoy were completely seduced from their allegiance, determined to attack them: still however keeping up his system of deception to the last, he sent to inform our resident, that he was about to march for the purpose of attending a religious festival: at the same time, the whole Mahratta camp was put in motion; and Mr. Elphinstone, with the other gentlemen of the residency, had barely time to fly, under cover of their honorary guard, before the enemy arrived, and began to burn and plunder all around them. Having joined the army, they determined to advance, and fight the battle in an open plain, between their encampment and the city; which forward movement so damped the courage of the Mahrattas, and alarmed the peishwah, that his heart failed him, and he sent to Gokla to stop the advance of his troops: that intrepid leader however, instead of obeying orders, instantly commenced the attack; opening a battery of nine guns, and pushing forward his cavalry to the right and left, so as almost to surround our troops: but in this movement, which was rapidly executed, his infantry were left behind, with the exception of one regular battalion under a Portuguese leader, named de Pinto, which had marched by a shorter route: against these our sepoy instantly pushed forward and became detached from the line; on which, Gokla, who never neglected an opportunity, ordered a charge of cavalry, which was perceived by colonel Barr just in time to withdraw his men from destruction: fortunately there was a deep morass in the way, of which neither party was aware; and into this the first ranks of the Mahrattas fell, before they could rein up their horses: a reserved fire was then poured in among them with great effect; their attack

CHAP.
LVII.

1805-23.

became utterly disconcerted; and on the advance of our line, the whole field was cleared. Next morning, the brigade was joined by a light battalion, and its auxiliary horse; which deterred Gokla from renewing his attempts: in the mean time, general Smith advanced; and the peishwah retired in haste toward Satarah, leaving his tents standing: the city then surrendered; and the British commander, having been joined by a regiment of native cavalry, set off in pursuit of the enemy.

Though Bajee Row had thus failed in his manœuvres, Appa Sahib, the Nagpoor rajah, imitated his example with a similar degree of duplicity and vacillation: he also, to the last, was profuse in expressions of attachment to our resident, Mr. Jenkins; and inveighed bitterly against the peishwah's base and treacherous conduct. On the night of the twenty-fourth of November, however, he sent to say, that a *khelaut*, and a *juree putker*, or golden streamer, had arrived from the peishwah, who expected him in his camp to receive other honors; and he invited the resident to be present at the ceremony: all remonstrances were unavailing; the insignia were received; and the rajah's troops took up positions in the vicinity of our residency so menacing, that Mr. Jenkins was obliged to call in the brigade from its cantonments: its whole force consisted only of two native battalions much reduced by sickness, two companies composing the resident's escort, and three troops of Bengal cavalry, with four six-pounders manned by Europeans. On the twenty-sixth of November, at sunset, when the British piquets were about to be placed, they were fired at by the rajah's Arabian infantry; after which his artillery opened on our position with a destructive effect: the rest of the night was occupied by our troops in making cartridges, and placing on the brow of the hill sacks of flour and other materials, to cover their position: at daybreak a furious assault commenced; in which one of the guns was taken, and all its defenders put to the sword by the Arabs; when the enemy's horse and foot, emboldened by this success, hemmed in the whole

brigade, and prepared for a general attack: to increase the appalling difficulties of this crisis, the Arabs had got into the huts of our troops; and the shrieks of women and children contributed to damp the courage of the men. At this critical moment, captain Fitzgerald, who had frequently requested leave to charge, and had been as often prevented by his commanding officer, made a last effort to obtain permission, but in vain. Colonel Scott's *extraordinary* reply was—'Tell him to charge at his peril.'—'At my peril be it then!' cried the gallant officer, as he advanced against the principal body of the enemy's horse, drove them from two guns by which they were supported, turned these against the foe, and retired dragging them back into the resident's grounds: our infantry on the hill were encouraged by this brilliant exploit; and soon afterwards, when a tumbrel exploded among the Arabs, they descended to the charge, and totally dispersed them: the conflict was now over, and 18,000 men retreated before a little band of 1400; the loss on each side being very severe, and nearly equal.

Foiled in this disgraceful attempt, Appa Sahib sent to express great sorrow to Mr. Jenkins for what had happened; but the latter refused to treat, until he had disbanded his troops. In the mean time, general Doveton arrived with the whole second division, and the absolute submission of the tyrant was demanded: with this he apparently complied; but when the British advanced to take his guns, a furious cannonade was opened on our ranks, occasioning a loss of 140 men: the assailants, however, were eventually subdued; but Appa Sahib, strange to say! instead of meeting the punishment he deserved, *was reinstated on the musnud*; subject only to the control of the resident, and a military occupation of his country.

While these important transactions occurred at Poonah and Nagpoor, so confounding to all who had either openly or secretly taken part in the confederacy, the Pindarries had been completely driven out of their haunts in Malwah, by our third division, under brigadier-generals Malcolm, Adams, and Mar-

CHAP.
LVII.

1805-23.

shall: those under Kureem Khan and Wasil Mohammed, at the invitation of Sindia, took a route toward Gwalior; while Cheetoo went off to the north-west, in hopes of meeting support from Holkar's government. Between Gwalior and Kureem Khan's troops, lord Hastings directed his march, cutting them off from Sindia, while he completely overawed that chieftain: on the approach of the British divisions under Marshall and Adams, they forced the Lodwana Ghaut, and attempted to cross the Chumbul by the Lohaire ford; but they were there intercepted by general Donkin, who surprised their advanced guard, and captured the wife of Kureem, with all his state elephants, standards, and other insignia. The two chiefs, having burned their baggage, went off with 4000 of their best mounted cavalry, toward Mewar: of those left behind, many were cut off by the troops and exasperated villagers; but a considerable body made their way into the Deccan.

When Cheetoo retired toward the north-west, he was pursued by sir John Malcolm with our third division, till he found refuge in Holkar's camp near Mehidpoor. Sir John arrived at Agur on the fourth of December, where he heard that Holkar's army was decidedly hostile: waiting therefore the arrival of the first division under sir Thomas Hislop, he advanced toward the enemy's camp, with an intention of offering terms, according to the governor-general's instructions: the Mahratta commanders, however, aware that if an alliance were formed, that consequence which they derived from a state of anarchy would be diminished or destroyed, provoked a rupture by incessant depredations on the cattle and followers of the British camp: nay, so determined were they to cut off all chance of pacification, that, suspecting the regency of a design to accept of terms, they placed the *dewan*, Gunput Row, in confinement, and put Toolsay Bhye to death; when, as sir John Malcolm observes, 'not a foot stirred, not a voice was raised, to save a woman, who had never shown mercy to others.'

On the day when this event took place, our troops

advanced within ten miles of Holkar's camp, on the banks of the Seepra, where in a tumultuous council it was determined to hazard an engagement: all skirmishing and partial conflicts being avoided on both sides, a battle ensued, which ended in the total rout of the Patan and Mahratta armies, which lost about 3000 men; while their conquerors had 174 killed, and 604 wounded, of whom thirty-eight were European officers. The main body of the enemy then fled to Mundissor, where submission alone saved them from destruction; and the mother of Mullar Row, Keis-surah Bhye, now head of the Holkar state, placed her son and his interests in the hands of the English; from whom, after his claims on Rajpootana and Jyepoor had been abandoned, he received a guarantee for his family possessions: a *vakeel* from Holkar was to reside at Calcutta, and a resident envoy to be settled at his court. As soon as this treaty was signed, the Mahratta horse under Ram Deen hastened to join Bajee Row at Kopergaum; but the remains of their defeated infantry were met and routed with great slaughter in January by general Browne.

Notwithstanding this overthrow of Holkar's power, some of Sindia's officers still showed a disposition to support the Pindarries; and it was found necessary to send a division against Jeswunt Rao Bhow at Jawud; which town being taken, his troops were destroyed; while the three forts of Kumulnere, Ryepoor, and Ramnagur were reduced by general Donkin about the middle of February. Cheetoo withdrew from the force of Jeswunt, and went off to the north-west; but his men were cut up by the Gujerat division; and an immense number of stragglers were destroyed by the villagers and the Bheels, who spared none that fell into their hands. Cheetoo himself escaped, and passed through a variety of adventures; until at last he disappeared, and was not heard of for some days; after that time, however, his horse was discovered, grazing near the jungles of Asseergurh, saddled and bridled: a search being then made, a bag was discovered, containing rupees and other valuables, as well as several

CHAP.
LVII.
1805-23.

letters from Appa Sahib, engaging his services and promising great rewards: at no great distance lay a portion of his garments clotted with blood, together with some of his mangled limbs, and his head; doubtless the relics of a tiger's feast.

The Pindarries, dispersed abroad, and deprived of their leaders, were not much heard of afterwards; though flying parties continued to infest the Deccan, until the war with the peishwah terminated: eventually, they mingled with the rest of the population, becoming very active and industrious as cultivators of the soil. Many of the Patans, being taken into our service, proved themselves excellent and faithful soldiers: all the states, except Saugur, accepted terms offered by the governor-general; while the cessions made by Sindia enabled him to reward the rajah of Boondee, and the excellent young nabob of Bhopaul, for their services. Sir John Malcolm, remaining as political agent for central India, contributed by his active exertions and conciliatory conduct to introduce and promote the blessings of peace and good order, in a country where they had been long unknown.

Soon after the surrender of Nagpoor, general Doughton, deceived by the appearance of tranquillity, advanced to co-operate with sir Thomas Hislop; but no sooner was Appa Sahib reinstated in power, than he renewed his intrigues, encouraged freebooters, and, applying to Bajee Row for aid, sent secret directions to his agents, that they should resist his own orders for surrender: the resident, however, having obtained clear proof of this treachery, arrested him on the fifteenth of March, 1818; while the troops of Bajee Row, advancing to his assistance, were met and driven back by colonel Scott. Appa Sahib was then sent off, in pursuance of instructions from head-quarters, to the place of his intended confinement at Allahabad; but having corrupted some of his guards, he escaped to the Mahadeo hills, and formed a rallying point for disaffected or broken troops in all parts of the country: having eluded pursuit, he succeeded in gaining the fortress of Asseerghur; and when that fell in

1819, he again made his escape to the Seik country; but all his offers of submission being despised by the British government, he at length sunk into utter insignificance.

CHAP.
LVII.

1805-23.

In the mean time, the peishwah, Bajee Row, having despatched a party to bring to his camp the rajah of Satarah, nominal head of the Mahratta empire, and being joined by Trimbukjee with a strong detachment, marched southward, giving out that he intended to attack Poonah: on this intelligence, colonel Barr, who commanded there, sent off an express to our encampment at Seroor for reinforcements; when a battalion was ordered to march, consisting of 500 rank and file, with two six-pounders manned by Europeans, and accompanied by 300 irregular horse; the whole under the command of captain Staunton: next morning, about ten o'clock, these troops reached some high ground overlooking the village of Koreigaum on the Bhema, whence the whole of the peishwah's army, 20,000 foot and 8000 horse, was seen encamped on the opposite side of the river: fortunately, a road to the village, which lay on the left bank, was unoccupied by the enemy, and captain Staunton pushed on for the walls of Koreigaum: the Mahrattas, perceiving this intention, detached three corps of 1000 Arabs each, the best soldiers in their service, under cover of artillery, and supported by large bodies of horse, to intercept him; and both parties succeeded in occupying a portion of the village: thus situated, the British had nothing but destruction to expect, cut off, as they were, from the water, and exposed to a burning sun, after a long night's march, without any subsequent repose: resistance however of the most determined kind was made; every foot of ground was disputed; several streets were taken and retaken; and repeated attacks of the Arabs were repulsed by the bayonet: many of our officers had now fallen; the sufferings of the wounded were dreadful, and the survivors who continued the conflict became almost frantic for want of water: in this case, some of the artillerymen wished to surrender, if terms could be obtained; but captain

CHAP.

LVII.

1805-23.

Staunton resolutely opposed himself to their request. Lieutenant Chisholm, their officer, being killed, the enemy rushed on one of the guns and took it; when lieutenant Patterson, adjutant of the battalion, a very powerful man, who lay mortally wounded, hearing that the gun was seized, started up, and calling on the grenadiers once more to follow him, rushed into the midst of the Arabs, striking them down with a musket on all sides, until a second ball totally disabled him: the sepoys thus nobly encouraged, were irresistible; and the gun, being at length retaken, was brought off from piles of Arabs who lay dead around it: the situation of our troops, however, towards evening, became quite hopeless; but as night advanced, the fury of the attack relaxed, and a supply of water was procured: at nine, the village was evacuated by the enemy; and at daybreak, the peishwah's army was descried moving off on the Poonah road, having received intelligence of general Smith's approach: captain Staunton, however, not aware of this relief, and supposing that the enemy was lying in wait for him, as indeed was the case, gave out that he was about to march on Poonah: as soon as it was dark, he started in that direction, and then changing his route, retreated on Seroor, which he reached next morning, with his guns and wounded men. Of twenty-six artillerymen, twelve were killed and eight wounded; of the native infantry, fifty were killed and 105 wounded; and ninety-six of the cavalry were put *hors de combat*: of eight European officers, three were killed and two wounded; while the loss of the enemy was reckoned at near 700 men. To commemorate this gallant exploit, a monument was erected, and inscribed with the names of those that fell: the whole corps, the second battalion of the first Bombay native infantry, were raised to the rank of grenadiers, as their first battalion had been for the defence of Mangalore; while captain Staunton was immediately made honorary aide-de-camp to the marquis of Hastings, and subsequently governor of Ahmednugger.

The peishwah now fled toward the Carnatic, fol-

CHAP.
LVII.
1805-23.

lowed by general Pritzler, with the reserve division of the Deccan army: on his arrival at the Gutpurbe, he was surprised to find the country raised against him; turning therefore suddenly round, he avoided general Pritzler, recrossed the Krishna, and descended the Salpee Ghaut, in the direction of Sholapoor. Generals Smith and Pritzler then united their forces, and proceeded to Satarah; where, having quickly reduced the place, they hoisted the *bhugwa jenda*, or standard of Sevajee; while Mr. Elphinstone issued a manifesto, setting forth to the Mahrattas the reasons which led the British government to deprive the peishwah of all public authority, and to take possession of his territory; the whole of which was thenceforward to be under the company, except a small tract reserved for the rajah of Satarah, the head of the nation: this prince was now restored, not only to be a counterpoise to the influence of the Brahmins, but to conciliate the Mahrattas, that an opening might thus be made for their employment in our service. A new distribution of the British forces then took place; one division, under Pritzler, advancing to attack the hill forts south of Poonah, while Smith set out in pursuit of Bajee Row, with whom he came up, on the road to Ashta, the twentieth of February, with his cavalry and artillery, just as the Mahrattas were moving off their ground: the peishwah sent a taunting message to Gokla, as having suffered the army to be surprised; but the latter replied, that he would guard the rear, or lose his life: the cowardly tyrant then quitted his palanquin; and, mounting a fleet horse, thought only of his own safety, leaving with Gokla about 10,000 cavalry to cover his retreat. The ground of the Mahrattas was chosen with judgment, and the battle was fought with great fury: general Smith was cut down in a skilful charge made by Gokla; but major Dawes, with the reserve of the twenty-second, bravely attacked that chieftain, who fell on the field; when the whole body of Mahrattas took to flight: they were pursued ten miles, and the booty which fell into our hands was immense; but the most important result was the libe-

CHAP.
LVII.
1805-23.

ration of the rajah of Satarah, with his mother and two brothers, who voluntarily placed themselves under British protection:

The Mahrattas now began to think their cause, and that of the peishwah, desperate: great numbers dispersed; and general Smith, having escorted the rajah to his ancient throne amid the acclamations of all ranks, again set out in pursuit of his enemy.

The contest with Bajee Row, who had been joined by Ram Deen, a partisan of the Holkar family, was some time longer protracted; but in all his marches, whatever their direction might be, he found himself opposed to British divisions. On the fifth of May, as he was advancing toward Sindwa, intending to cross the Nerbuddah, he found that sir John Malcolm had made such preparations to intercept him, that escape was impossible: he had often sent overtures for negotiation, but unconditional surrender had been always required: his force, however, still amounted to 5000 horse and 4000 foot, of which half were Arabs; and being at length admitted to a conference by sir John, a treaty was concluded; when he agreed to renounce for ever all sovereignty in the Deccan, to which he was never to return; also to separate himself from Ram Deen, as well as all other proscribed rebels and Pindaries, on condition of receiving safe escort, and an annual allowance of eight lacs of rupees: although these terms were considered by the governor-general as verging on extreme liberality, he did not hesitate to ratify them; and Bajee Row was conveyed to Beithoor, as his future place of residence: Trimbukjee escaped for a time, and attempted to procure adherents; but his retreat being discovered, he was apprehended by a party of horse, and sent prisoner to the fortress of Chunar on the Ganges. In the mean time, the rajah of Satarah was installed with great pomp; after which, he publicly announced his connection with our government, and the arrangements made for a British resident at his court: in the course of this summer, all the insurgent bands were dispersed or subdued; their hill fortresses were taken; and the predatory system,

which had long been converting this garden of the world into a wilderness, being now intirely overthrown, the governor-general hesitated not to proclaim that supremacy, which indisputably belonged to Great Britain, from Indus to the Ganges: such also was the change of public opinion in England, that, according to the observation of sir John Malcolm, 'not a voice was raised against a measure, the very contemplation of which, a few years before, had been denounced as a dream of ambition.'

CHAP.
LVII.

1805-23.

Thus, after so many centuries of uninterrupted war and anarchy, a degree of security and repose was restored to this magnificent empire, which at no former period did it ever possess: nor were the blessings of peace and security the only objects of lord Hastings's wise and beneficent administration: to rouse the public mind from the lethargy of ages, to cultivate its moral faculties, and to introduce the word of life into realms which had been so long abandoned to the grossest system of idolatry, was the grand aim of this enlightened nobleman: the venerable societies in England for the promotion of moral and religious knowlege, had often expressed great anxiety for the advance of education among our Eastern subjects; but the first instance on record, in which the instruction of the common people became an open and avowed object with any Indian government, was the grant made by lord Hastings to the Bengalese schools at Chinsurah, established by Mr. Robert May, in 1814; and the success of this experiment fully justified the enlightened policy by which it was dictated. In 1816, the Serampore institution for native schools was formed; and the 'Hints' were published, which led to a general patronage of such seminaries throughout the presidency: the School-Book Society was next year established by the illustrious consort of the governor-general, which contributed to awaken that spirit of benevolent emulation, which led to the promotion of the Calcutta School Society. To both these associations the government assigned a monthly contribution of 500 rupees.

Domestic
policy of
lord Hast-
ings.

CHAP.
LVII.
— 1805-23.

None of these institutions were formed with a view of imparting to the natives a knowledge of christianity; but under the auspices of bishop Middleton, the Calcutta Diocesan Committee arose, in 1818, which fearlessly avowed its grand object;—the gradual conversion of those myriads under British rule, to whom the Gospel is unknown, by the process of christian education;—for, according to the authority of that excellent prelate, not the remotest danger was to be apprehended from such a measure, if the persuasive method was strictly adopted. In the preceding year, the Auxiliary Church Missionary, and the Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Societies had been set on foot; while a third institution of this kind was founded, in April, 1818, under the name of the Calcutta Baptist Missionary Society. In 1820, the first stone was laid of Bishop's College, the design of which was to provide a body of clergy, trained up, not in theology alone, but in a knowledge of the principal languages of India; that so they might be duly qualified to diffuse saving knowledge among their heathen brethren. In July, 1823, it was determined by the governor in council, to constitute a general committee of public instruction, for the purpose of ascertaining the state of education in Bengal, and of the institutions designed for its promotion: he also announced his resolution to appropriate the annual sum of one lac of rupees to the general purposes of public education. These spirited and benevolent measures were followed up by a series of other admirable institutions; among which, the Ladies' Native Female Education Society deserves to be honorably mentioned; for before this, no instance was known of an Indian girl having been instructed in the commonest branches of education: the authority of bishop Heber fully confirmed the prediction of his great predecessor, when he observed, that 'there was not even a semblance of opposition to the efforts making to enlighten the Hindoos:' so that not only has the reproach of selfish apathy, so long adhering to the British name in India, been wiped away; but a noble and imperishable monument of christian charity

has been reared, which, by the blessing of Divine Providence, seems destined to last through all ages. The wise and good, and therefore truly great Hastings, whose fostering hand contributed so largely to rear that monument, descended from his high station, and returned to England in 1823, after an administration of nine years; at the end of which, the company's annual revenue, augmented as it had been by four *crores* of rupees, was still on the increase: but the noblest feature of his government was its beneficent aspect on the intellectual and moral condition of the people: in all respects, it may be regarded as a new and auspicious era to the millions of British India; as the key-stone of that fabric, which Clive and Wellesley contributed to raise.

CHAP.
LVII.
—
1815.

We must now revert to the affairs of our own island. During the long struggles of war, all seemed prosperous, all employed; commerce found new channels, agriculture new products, manufactures a new impulse; in short, our resources grew from our very exigences; and the greater the pressure, the higher we seemed to rise: but it was at length discovered, that such pressure had strained the machine; and that affairs had for some time past been in a very unnatural state: this, among other things, had given rise to great inequalities of condition: the rich were become richer, the poor poorer; and hundreds had gained, while thousands lost. During the time intervening between the last statistical period of which we treated, and the end of the war, the borrowing, taxing, and paper-money schemes, having been carried to their utmost extent, had produced their most important effects: so great indeed was the display of national resources, and so reckless the expenditure of wealth, that it becomes interesting to consider a little more fully the extent and consequences of this whole system.

Statistical
account
of Great
Britain.

The sum expended by government, from the year 1809 to 1815, both inclusive, was, in the currency of the time, £630,789,973; being an average annual expenditure of £90,112,853: if to this be added £7,000,000 a year for the expense of collecting the

CHAP.
LVII.
1815.

taxes, we have a total of £679,789,073; and as a large portion was borrowed, the national debt at the end of this period amounted to £864,822,441, requiring the enormous sum of £41,225,257 to pay its interest. The ministers, however, of those days, extravagant as they were, are not to be charged with the expenditure of so large an amount of money in a currency of full value; for in comparing different periods, we must make allowance for the depreciation caused by excessive issues of paper: this depreciation, as measured by the market price of gold, and taken on an average of seven years, was about twenty per cent.: during the above period, the population of England had advanced to more than 13,000,000;⁵ and the number of enclosure bills passed from 1809 to 1814, both inclusive, amounted to 704: the official value of goods exported, above colonial produce re-exported, gave a yearly average of £31,600,320; and when the annual average of the six preceding years, estimated at £25,074,400 is considered, and the superior economy of labor in the production of exports in the latter, as compared with the former period, the increase in the quantity of labor required to produce the whole of the exports, and consequently to purchase all the imports, was not considerable: thus the benefit arising from the increase of manufacturing power was almost exclusively obtained by this country; for the articles exported, though generally produced with less labor, sold for almost equal prices in the foreign market; and their exporters were enabled to bring back a supply of foreign commodities most in demand here, in return for what had cost but little: the supply of imports would have been still greater, but for the large foreign war expenditure by government, much of which rested on the exports, and absorbed a considerable portion of them. The bills drawn and paid by British agents, for supplies to our fleets and armies, were received by exporters in payment for their goods: the subsidies also to foreign powers were really fur-

⁵ By the census of 1811 it was 12,609,864.

nished in the same manner: those powers drew bills on our government, which were sold in commercial marts, to persons who employed them in the purchase of our goods; which goods, in fact, supported armaments, and paid allies in the formidable struggle: the bills were finally paid in money, by the British government to the British producer, with the sums raised from the people by taxes and loans.

CHAP.
LVII.
1815.

The high price of grain during this period would probably have caused considerable imports of that article from foreign countries, had not the war prevented it, by increasing the cost of freightage for bulky commodities, as well as creating a large demand for it in countries occupied by our armies. In no year, from 1809 to 1814 inclusive, were 2,000,000 of quarters imported; and in 1812, when wheat had reached its highest price of 125*s.* 6*d.* a quarter, only 535,733 quarters of foreign corn were imported into Great Britain. Before the end of this period reduction in the value of money had produced its full effect on all fixed annuities; the payers of which, who may generally be considered as persons engaged in active employment of some kind, were benefited, in proportion as the receivers lost: this reduction was a relief to producers, and enabled them better to bear the burdens arising from loans and taxes. All lands to be re-let were sought with an avidity which in itself caused a farther increase of rent, and inflicted no slight evil on the productive classes; for the very high profits of the farmer were temporary, and could not long continue above those of other capitalists: yet for the purpose of participating in those profits, farmers gave, and established, a rate of rent, which soon disabled them from paying competent wages to their laborers, and obtaining, at the same time, moderate profits for themselves. At the end of 1815, the land in cultivation was computed at 40,000,000 of acres; which, at an average of one pound per acre, would give a total rental of £40,000,000 in current money, being an advance above the supposed rental in 1793 of £22,000,000. The reduction of the value of money

CHAP.
LVII.
—
1815.

at the time prevented the burden of this from being heavily felt; but the increase of rent being established, while the value of the currency was subsequently raised, gave rise to much and severe distress: as the high price of landed produce was very beneficial to those who received tithes in kind, the clergy in general considered this a prosperous period; but as they are accustomed generally to spend their incomes, and not to accumulate capital, to be used like that of the farmer, the wealth furnished to them, in the form of tithes, was so much abstracted from the productive classes.

The rate of profit during the latter part of the war continued high, as may be concluded from the prices of the three per cent. consols:⁶ capitalists also gained a great advantage by the loans being made in three per cent. stock, which the government engaged not to pay off, except at the full price of £100 money for £100 stock: the holder of such stock, therefore, had the benefit of every possible rise which might take place from the current price at the time of purchase, till it advanced to £100. An advantage, to a certain limited extent, resulted from the substitution of paper money for gold: the issue of the paper drove out the gold, which was expended either in paying for imports, or defraying the foreign expenditure of the government: thus about £20,000,000 were liberated from their employment as currency, and made available for purposes of national expenditure, by which the country was so far assisted at the time: the necessity, however, of paying interest to a separate class of paper-money makers for a supply of circulating medium, was a slight counteracting effect. From a general view of the whole system, it may be said, that very unfavorable results were produced on the condition of the people, during this period, by increased taxation, heavy loans, high profits, advanced rents and tithes, together with a constant conversion of primary into secondary producers; while these disadvantages were

⁶ The average price of these were; in 1809, $68\frac{1}{2}$; in 1810, $67\frac{3}{4}$; in 1811, $63\frac{1}{2}$; in 1812 and 1813, 59; in 1814, $66\frac{1}{2}$.

to a certain degree counterbalanced, though not fully, by an increase of population and productive power; by a reduction in the value of annuities; by exports of corn and cheaply produced articles of exportation. But whatever may have been the increase in the aggregate productive power of primary laborers, such increase, added to that in their numbers, was not sufficient to counteract effects of the abstraction of such large quantities of wealth from them as were actually taken: their situation, therefore, became deteriorated, as was apparent in the condition of the poorer classes generally, but especially in that of agricultural laborers: evidence of this is seen in the increase of rates which were found necessary for their relief: about the year 1793, the sum raised annually for that purpose was only £2,167,748; but in 1812 it amounted to £8,640,842; which, if it be taken in a currency reduced in value fifty per cent., will be more than double the amount of the former. The decline, however, in the condition of the laborers was not experienced alike by all classes: as net wealth increased, those whose business it was to modify it, and provide objects of luxury for its opulent owners, would find, for a time, an increased demand for their labor, until competition brought down their remuneration to the general reduced rate: those also who labored to produce articles of exportation by improved modes of production, had their wages, for a time, either actually raised, or kept above the limit to which they would otherwise have sunk.

Just before the termination of the war, there seems to have been a crisis in the internal condition of the country; when so many alterations were taking place, and so many causes in operation, that it becomes difficult to trace their separate workings: the great profits of agricultural capitalists had caused them to bring large quantities of inferior land into cultivation, and to expend much of their profits in forcing its produce: in 1813, the effects of these proceedings began to appear in a decline of the price of grain, much beyond that of other commodities: this continued through

CHAP. the two following years; a natural result of high
 LVII. profits, producing over production. It was supposed
 1815. that the opening of the markets in the north of Europe
 tended to cause this fall in 1814 and 1815; but the
 tables show, that during these two and the next year,
 the whole quantity of wheat, barley, and oats, im-
 ported beyond that exported, only amounted to 760,065
 quarters; a quantity incapable of producing any per-
 ceptible effect on our markets: other causes however
 operated to produce this depreciation.

During the three years of 1813, 1814, and 1815,
 the Bank of England notes in circulation were, in
 round numbers, respectively £24,000,000, £29,000,000,
 and £27,000,000; and supposing the circulating me-
 dium to have been about £60,000,000, a great part of
 this enormous currency must have consisted of country
 bank notes: these had been issued by bankers, to a
 great extent, for the accommodation of farming capi-
 talists, who obtained ample credit, owing to the high
 prices of their produce: but when, in 1813, abundance
 began to lower these prices,⁷ the more cautious bankers
 felt alarm, and credit could not be so easily procured:
 hence a diminution in the amount of country bank
 notes took place;⁸ and this, by accelerating the fall of
 prices, naturally increased alarm, and tended still
 farther to diminish this species of currency: hence all
 the agricultural classes became similarly affected,
 while the whole amount of currency was reduced; and
 not only the prices of landed produce, but also of bul-
 lion, would naturally fall: as this fall proved ruinous
 to a considerable number of farmers, and produced a
 general want of confidence, such a destruction of pro-
 vincial paper ensued as rarely has been paralleled; for
 no fewer than 240 country banks stopped payment
 during the years 1814, 1815, and 1816. In 1815, the
 price of wheat having fallen to about ten shillings a
 bushel, landlords as well as tenants became alarmed;
 and imagining that the low prices of grain arose from

⁷ At Michaelmas this year, wheat fell to thirteen shillings a bushel; and at Lady-day, 1814, to ten shillings and ninepence.

⁸ In 1815, near £3,000,000 were abstracted from the amount of the preceding year; and in 1816, £4,000,000 more: this received a little increase in 1817.

foreign competition, they determined to procure a corn law for their protection: this bill prohibited the introduction of foreign wheat into Great Britain till the price should rise to eighty shillings a quarter; and protected all other grain in a similar manner: but though it had an effect in preventing a rapid fall, the discovery was soon made that it did not raise prices as its promoters expected: it was necessary that the superabundant supply should be lessened before a rise could take place. This fall in the price of grain operated for a time in favor of the laboring population; for as the price of labor does not rise regularly with that of food, so it does not fall with it, although it is generally much quicker in decline than increase: but in 1816, the reduced means of farmers obliged them to refuse employment very extensively to their laborers; consequently, the condition of the latter became deteriorated; as appears from the amount of poor rates, which exceeded those of the preceding year by near £1,200,000; and even those of 1812, when wheat was 125 shillings a quarter, by more than £262,000. Thus laborers suffered from the existing system, through a reduction of real wages; while farmers began to experience the consequences of measures, which, by giving sometimes double or triple profits, stimulated them to an extension of production: this brought down prices from the high rate to which they had attained, partly through country bank notes; the withdrawal of which, on a decline of price, pushed it down still farther than it would have ordinarily gone.

The manufacturing classes, toward the end of the period of which we have been treating, were somewhat differently affected: a great abundance, and consequent cheapness of agricultural produce, naturally gave them a temporary advantage: but in addition to this source of prosperity, the opening of new markets on the continent, through the discomfiture of our enemies, caused so great a demand for British goods, that the price of weaving a piece of calico, which in 1811 was five shillings and sixpence, rose in 1814 to

CHAP.
LVII.
— 1815. —

ten shillings: this however was principally the effect of speculation. In the autumn of that same year, it was discovered that the high prices of labor could not be sustained; and in 1816 they declined to about one half.

The great advance which took place in the income of net receivers, and the corresponding increase of their numbers, had a very conspicuous effect on the external features of the country, as well as its institutions: this was no where more perceptible than in the places which those persons selected for their residence, such as Brighton and Cheltenham, which rose rapidly in splendor and population; hence also a vast increase in those noble seats with which every part of the land is decorated, and innumerable mansions in the environs of our cities; which, if the epithet magnificent be denied them, combine elegance and convenience to a degree which is seen no where else under the sun. To the same source may be referred numerous works of public utility, such as superb bridges thrown across the Thames and other rivers, docks of enormous magnitude, aqueducts, and canals; scientific associations, from which discoveries emanated, imparting unexpected comforts to society, together with a new impulse to the human intellect; hospitals, medical schools, and other institutions, calculated to relieve misery to an extent hitherto unknown; also literary societies, which opened the gates of knowledge to thousands, against whose ingress they had previously been barred: without dwelling on those stars of literature which are destined to shine through all ages, we may observe, that improvements in education, accelerated by the modified processes of Bell and Lancaster, diffused their blessings so extensively among the lower classes of society, that the wish expressed by our venerable monarch, that every cottager in his realm could read the Bible, seemed likely to be realised. Great also was the increase of moral and religious establishments, by which the light of Gospel truth was cherished at home; while it was spread abroad by men, who traversed the most distant regions,

not to kindle enthusiasm amid the ruins of ancient magnificence, but to repair the holier ruins of human nature. Nor were the fine arts neglected in this grand development of man's energies: the British school of painting, under the auspices of West and Lawrence, Turner, Calcot, Wilkie, and others of great note, became the first in Europe; and though sculpture did not keep pace with her sister art, this was not for want of due encouragement, or examples of heroic valor to be commemorated by the chisel; yet even here, the classic dignity of Flaxman, and the natural grace of Chantry, gave hopes of future excellence. Architecture had in several instances displayed its powers with effect; but preparations were made, during this era, for the establishment of that most useful and decorative science on true principles: the first of many enterprising bands of British youth, from whom a Barry was about to arise, had started in search of architectural excellence at its fountain head; while the remarkable discoveries of Mr. C. R. Cockerell in Sicily and Greece, were calculated, not only to advance the art in which he is himself so eminent, but to perfect also that of sculpture. Neither were adventurers wanting to explore the antiquities, manners, and products of various nations, precursors of those more determined spirits, which, when the toils of war by sea and land were over, eagerly braved the most pestilential climes and savage regions, to explore new tracts for commerce, and open the broad path of civilisation throughout the world. The subject might be carried out to a vast extent; but it may be thought sufficient to have touched on some of its leading features: it must however be remarked, that this national display of intellectual power was almost independent of government, which, except in a few instances, neither called it forth, nor fostered it when produced: and though it may not be wholly attributable to the cause assigned, since many are the generous spirits which are swayed by pure and patriotic motives; yet there can be no doubt, but that an accumulation of wealth, and a desire of employing

CHAP. it gave an extraordinary impulse to the energies of
LVII. the age.

1815.

Yet though Great Britain issued from the contest, not only possessing claims to the gratitude of other nations, but proud of that magnificence with which the development of her vast resources had invested her, still the day of internal struggle was at hand. Though our prosperity, during the war, seemed to rise with our very exigences and expenditure; yet, when peace arrived, we discovered, as before has been observed, the strain which the machine of civil policy had sustained; and we then perceived those increased inequalities of condition, to which the system long pursued had given rise: we had indeed been victorious by sea and land; we had won the race among nations, but it was soon to begin among ourselves. The great advantage possessed by us in the late contest arose from public spirit; which spirit was produced by our glorious constitution: but now that constitution itself was to be convulsed in our transition from a state of war to that of peace; and this could not be effected without great changes of property: an immense number of persons would necessarily be cast on society, whom the long war had brought up dependent on itself alone for support; many would be thrown out of employment by the cessation of particular sources of revenue; great fluctuation would take place in various branches of trade and manufactures; markets would be glutted; competition among ourselves and foreigners would be carried to a ruinous excess; whilst a heavy debt and an insecure paper currency pressed with alarming effect on all: it was to be expected that advantage would be taken of this state of things by designing men, to excite discontent and dangerous opposition to established institutions; while a fear of consequences would naturally lead others to defend the worst abuses connected with our constitution, lest an excision of excrescences might endanger the trunk itself. Though selfishness and other bad passions found ample scope for exercise on both sides, yet there

was still left a large stock of good principles in the country; and the middle classes in particular, being generally sound at core, steadily resisted the enemies of social order and tranquillity: nor let it be considered presumptuous, if we claim for the church of England its due portion of merit, in checking the progress of those irreligious doctrines that were so studiously disseminated in aid of popular disaffection: perhaps it may not be too much to say, without derogating from the merit of many other religious societies, that the moral habits of the people, and through them the stability of our civil institutions, may be mainly traced to the benign influence diffused throughout the community by its ecclesiastical establishment. If we have undergone, and still sustain, a severe pressure; if a large portion of our fellow countrymen have been reduced to want, or goaded on to intemperance and insubordination; we have still had virtue to resist the wild spirit of disorganisation, while we have rescued the altar of liberty from those who were not sufficiently careful to guard its sacred flame. Higher than ever is our country advanced among nations; and long may it so remain! for the day on which it ceases to guide the opinion of Europe, and to be an example for those who are struggling out of the darkness of oppression into the light of freedom, will be an evil day for the whole human race, but more especially for those who desire our ruin.

CHAPTER LVIII.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1816.

Meeting of parliament—Debates on the treaties—State of Ireland—Royal marriages—Stagnation of trade, and high price of provisions—Seditious assemblies in the metropolis—Expedition to Algiers—Attack and surrender of that city—Honors conferred on lord Exmouth—Discovery of the safety-lamp by sir Humphrey Davy—Encouragement of the fine arts—Meeting of parliament—Attack made on the prince regent—Measures of economy—Retirement of Mr. Abbott from the office of speaker—Reports of secret committees on the prevalence of sedition—Apprehension of suspected individuals—Suspension of the habeas corpus act—Farther restrictions on public liberty—Committee on the poor-laws—Disturbances at Manchester—Trials for high-treason—Prosecution of Mr. Hone for the publication of political parodies on the Litany—State of political parties at this period—Death of the princess Charlotte—New coinage—Opening of Waterloo-bridge—Domestic events—Brief review of foreign governments.

Meeting of
parliament. WHEN parliament met, in February, Mr. Brougham moved for a copy of the treaty concluded at Paris, and designated by the title of ‘the Holy Alliance.’ After citing an expression of Voltaire, ‘that a colloquy of kings boded no good to nations,’ he observed, that there was something so singular in the wording of this document, as to warrant a considerable degree of jealousy on the part of the house: nor could he think it had a sole reference to spiritual objects; for the partition of Poland had been prefaced by language of a similar nature; and the proclamation of the empress Catharine, which wound up that fatal tragedy, was couched in almost the same words. Lord Castlereagh, having vindicated the good faith and piety of the confederated sovereigns, refused to produce the treaty;

for, although it had been communicated to our regent in the first instance by the Russian emperor, and received his royal highness's approbation, it had not received his signature; and the usage of parliament was against the production of any treaty to which this country was not a party. Whatever may be thought of such a confederacy; whether, as some suppose, it originated in sincere enthusiasm, or in the sole desire of suppressing that popular principle which had been called into action by the united sovereigns themselves during their late contests with Napoleon, due credit must be given to the prince for strict adherence to 'those forms of the British constitution,' which, according to his own statement, prevented him from acceding to this alliance: a contrary line of conduct would certainly have embarrassed his government at a subsequent period, when measures were adopted by these theocratic despots, which were adverse to its principles.

From an abstract of the net produce of revenue ending the fifth of January, the amount appeared to be £66,443,802; showing an excess of £1,013,821 over that of the preceding year: nevertheless, the chancellor of the exchequer announced his intention of proposing a five per cent. income tax; and with a view of gaining over the multitude, he declared himself ready to exempt all incomes under £150, and farms paying less than that sum in rent, from its operation: on this reduced scale, he calculated that the tax would produce £6,000,000; but its continuance was not only deprecated by petitions from the great towns of the empire, but by vehement harangues in the house of commons, where it was shown, that, according to the original plan, more than half the impost had been paid by incomes below the proposed point of exemption; so that, according to his proposed scale, a sum exceeding £3,000,000 could scarcely be expected: Mr. Vansittart however persisted in his design; but on a division, was defeated by a majority of 238 against 201. As the more opulent classes chose this method of relieving themselves from a heavy pressure, and

CHAP.
LVIII.

1816.

rendered a loan indispensable, the minister resolved on granting a boon to the lower orders, which might at the same time alleviate that distress under which agriculture was now laboring: accordingly, he declined to bring forward again the war-tax on malt, which had been estimated to produce £2,000,000 per annum. The supplies for the year were stated at £39,400,000, and the ways and means to meet them as deficient about £2,500,000: but so complicated and obscure were the accounts, that Mr. J. P. Grant moved counter-resolutions, proving, on his view of things, a deficiency of seventeen millions: a majority of the house, however, supported the minister; and the sum required to meet the supplies was procured from the directors of the Bank, who advanced £3,000,000, at three per cent. interest, on condition of being permitted to increase their capital by one-fourth. The amount of army estimates provoked a long and vehement discussion: opposition insisted that the maintenance of so large a standing force as it was proposed to keep up, was uncalled for by the aspect of foreign affairs, while it was incompatible with the distressed state of the nation: ministers, on the other hand, alleged, that not only the situation of continental states, but the large increase of our colonial dependencies, demanded a proportional augmentation of our peace establishment; and the estimated number of 176,615 men, including 30,000 stationed in France, was finally voted. After a violent debate on similar grounds, a vote of 33,000 men for the navy was also agreed to; but a decided expression of public opinion, out of parliament, induced government to make various reductions in both these services during the year.

The proposal of so large a force at this time as 25,000 men for Ireland, naturally excited surprise, and led to some animadversion on the necessity of its employment. After all the evils and abuses which had been extinguished, and the many improvements introduced into that kingdom, by the union, it still exhibited a wretched scene of misery, turbulence, and crime: much has been done, and much attempted,

since the times of which we are now treating, to remedy the disorders of Ireland; but still, though gifted with every physical blessing, that country is a prey to every moral curse; and Irish misery still costs England countless sums to coerce her struggles under that load of oppression which was heaped on her by our ancestors. If any sin of the fathers is certain to be visited on the children, it is that of misrule; and the hardest part of this dispensation is, that punishment commonly falls, not on those who uphold, but who relax an oppressive system. The grand evils which continue to afflict Ireland, arise, in the first instance, from that monstrous plan of confiscation pursued by our ancestors, which transferred so large a portion of the soil to foreigners: these cannot be expected to reside on their estates, which are therefore consigned to the hands of middle men, who grind the people without pity or remorse;—in the second instance, to that unfortunate method which was pursued for the introduction of our reformed religion. Instead of missionaries, well skilled in their native tongue, being sent to convince the inhabitants of the errors of their ancient faith, and reconcile them to the new church; their rich endowments were suddenly transferred to the protestant establishment, many of whose teachers were appointed from the sole motive of interest; most of them being bigoted Calvinists, whose system was least of all attractive to the followers of Romanism, and none acquainted with the language which alone their parishioners could speak or understand with readiness; nor was it even thought necessary to furnish them with a translation either of the liturgy or the Scriptures; ‘though,’ says bishop Heber, ‘they were compelled by a fine, rarely indeed enforced, to attendance on a church service which was still more unintelligible to them than their ancient mass-book, without having the same associations to recommend it. Accordingly, while Wales, from an opposite line of treatment, received the doctrines of the reformation with avidity, and at an early period was become almost exclusively protestant; while the Norman

CHAP.
LVIII.
— 1816.

CHAP.
LVIII.
1816.

isles have ever since been among the most faithful adherents of the episcopal church, from the advantage of French preachers and a French service-book; Ireland, with a people above most others docile and susceptible of new impressions, has remained, through a great majority of her population, in the possession of a creed discountenanced by the state, and under the dominion of prejudices, which, even to the present moment, no effectual measures have been taken to remove.¹ Mr. Peel, who had lately commenced his political career with the credit of superior talents and a well-exercised intellect, was at this time secretary for Ireland; and he on the present occasion proved, with convincing energy and mournful truth, the necessity of so large a force as was proposed for that country: unfortunately, however, for Ireland and himself, this statesman, whose legislative infancy had been cradled in tory prejudices, allied himself to the dominant party; and his strong anti-catholic policy neutralised or counteracted the better spirit of his Irish administration. The disturbances which distracted that country, were ascribed by Mr. Peel to a systematic violation of all laws: this, indeed, was the case; and while a systematic spirit of injustice pervaded those laws, nothing could put down the opposition, except a revision of the laws themselves, or the introduction of a military force: as the former remedy was at this time rejected, the latter became necessary for the protection of life and property. The general routine of motions for inquiry into the state of Ireland, and for the repeal of catholic disabilities, were followed by their usual results; but a measure of some practical importance—the consolidation of the British and Irish exchequers—was effected in the course of this session: a bill also passed for the issue of a new silver coinage; and two others were introduced by lord Castlereagh, to authorise and regulate the detention of Napoleon Bonaparte in the island of St. Helena: Mr. Western took the lead in drawing public attention to the growing distress of agriculturists, and to means

¹ Life of Jeremy Taylor, vol. i. p. 190.

for their future protection; but nothing satisfactory could be obtained: the manufacturing and commercial party in the house were strong; and, being firmly convinced that they had an opposite interest to maintain, as if all their profits and prosperity depended on cheap corn, they were anxious that the supply of food for the people should pass through their own ships and warehouses: indeed whenever our corn-laws shall be abrogated, the greatest danger will arise from a different and worse species of monopolists than agriculturists; viz. free-trade merchants: the corn-growers are obliged from want of capital to bring their produce to market—the corn-merchants from their abundance may starve us into their own terms. Ministers seemed to be in a state of doubt and vacillation on the subject; but it was soon felt that no interests could prosper at the expense of agriculture, with which so many complicated interests are bound up; it was also felt that the British farmer, pressed by so many public burthens, and obliged to cultivate his land at a heavy expense, could not compete with the foreigner, who paid little for labor, and less in taxes.

CHAP.
LVIII.
1816.

A message from the regent to both houses, on the fourteenth of March, announced the marriage contract of his daughter, the princess Charlotte Augusta, with his serene highness, prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg; and on the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, an annual sum of £60,000 was voted to that illustrious pair during their joint lives; the whole to be continued to her royal highness if the prince should die first, and £50,000 to him if he should be the survivor: £60,000 also were granted by way of outfit. This munificence was not the act of a venal parliament; which, it must be confessed, was ready enough to vote away the nation's money in order to gratify the whims and luxuries of royalty; but it may be considered as the spontaneous expression of love and affection from a great and generous people. On the second of May, the auspicious nuptials were celebrated, which diffused throughout the country unqualified pleasure and satisfaction; for the public felt a lively interest, not only

Royal
marriages.

CHAP.
LVIII.

1816.

in the personal character of the princess, and her relation to the state; but in the circumstances of her union with the object of her own choice; a union, in which political calculations and diplomatic contracts for once had no place: nor was this honest and honorable attachment of the nation to the royal couple diminished by their deportment subsequent to their marriage; for, with an unaffected gracefulness and benignity, they shared in the amusements, the occupations, and the devotions of the people; while the example of domestic purity, which they promised to uphold, was hailed by every friend to the moral interests of society with joy and admiration.

Two months after the marriage of the princess Charlotte, the long attachment of the duke of Gloucester to his cousin, the princess Mary, terminated also in a matrimonial union, with the approbation of her brother: as this royal duke had never launched into extravagant expenditure, he required no pecuniary grant on the occasion, either for himself, or for his bride. Although the present period might be considered as one of the happiest in the regent's life (for the princess of Wales was at a distance, the political safety of the country had been wondrously achieved, he was virtually the reigning sovereign, and his love of splendor was profusely gratified by the ministry); yet even now he began to adopt those habits of seclusion, which, in his latter years, withdrew him from the eyes of the people, and estranged their affections from his person: his visits were paid to few except the marquisses of Conyngham and Hertford; his courts and public parties were very infrequent; and his principal occupation lay in superintending the fashions of dress, or improvements and alterations at his different places of residence.

Popular
discon-
tents.

The agreeable prospects, however, which arose out of these royal marriages could not avert public attention from more immediate causes of anxiety and alarm, arising from the increasing pressure of national distress. As the year advanced, the calamities of a most inclement season and a deficient harvest were added

CHAP.
LVIII.
1816.

to a general stagnation of trade and commerce, in the absence of that monopoly of the foreign market which war secured to this country: a sudden rise in the price of all necessaries of life, combining with a reduction of wages and a want of employment, produced great distress among the poor, which vented itself in discontent and murmurs, and finally in acts of outrageous violence: meanwhile, this increase of public difficulties brought into action a host of demagogues, who availed themselves of the people's sufferings to disseminate among them inflammatory and seditious doctrines: the reckless prodigality of government habituated to a war expenditure, and evidently averse to retrenchment; the corruption and waste arising from sinecures, pensions, and other causes of an improvident administration of public money;—these were made fertile themes of declamation by evil agitators; the populace were plausibly taught to ascribe all their miseries to the dishonesty of their rulers; and a radical reform in the whole system of our constitution was inculcated as the universal remedy for distress. It was remarked with alarm, as a new and ominous feature of the times, that political meetings for petitions against abuses, and other ostensible purposes of reform, were eagerly attended by an immense concourse of the lowest and most ignorant classes, who were harangued by orators of their own, and violently excited, not only against the government, but the higher orders of the community: the constitutional opponents of the ministry, however, though disgusted by that resistance which was shown to measures of retrenchment and economy, abstained from all participation in scenes which threatened the most appalling consequences.

These avowedly political meetings were generally conducted without any decided breaches of the peace; and the first disposition to open tumult arose more immediately from the pressure of absolute want on the agricultural and manufacturing laborers: in some of the eastern counties particularly, acts of serious violence were committed both by the artisans in towns, Riots.

CHAP.
LVIII.

1816.

and by the rural peasantry, who had been thrown out of employment, and who thought themselves equally entitled to blame the master manufacturers for want of work, and the farmers for scarcity and high prices of food: nightly meetings were held; threatening letters sent; houses, barns, and stacks fired; and in the isle of Ely, something like an organised insurrection broke forth, which was not suppressed without the exercise of force, and the execution of some principal offenders. In Staffordshire, where the stoppage of several great iron-works had not only deprived the men employed in them of bread, but had extended the suspension of trade to immense collieries connected with that branch of business, the whole laboring population were reduced to a state of starvation: but though the colliers exhibited threatening symptoms of riot, they were appeased, without bloodshed, by the temperate interference of the magistracy; while the wants of the sufferers were extensively supplied by the contributions of private benevolence: the patience indeed of the wretched workmen in the iron trade, under the severest privations, was in general most laudable; though one casual riot arose among those at the large establishment near Merthyr-Tydvil, in South Wales, which was not suppressed without military force: the conduct of the clothing manufacturers was less exemplary; and at Nottingham, in particular, the system of outrage in frame-breaking, which had marked former periods of distress, was now alarmingly renewed under circumstances of regular combination.

Seditious
assemblies.

The metropolis had continued, on the whole, tranquil until near the close of this year; when two meetings in Spa-fields, convened by some mob-orators to petition the regent for reform of abuses, attracted a vast concourse of the rabble, and led, on the second occasion, to a riot attended with more apparent danger than any which had occurred for many years. Henry Hunt, the principal demagogue, though his language in announcing to the mob the rejection of their petition was sufficiently seditious and inflammatory, had

the prudence to withdraw, and thus avoid committing himself to the consequences of his harangue; but a band of his more desperate associates, who had attended him with a tricolored flag, and other symbols borrowed from the old revolutionary school, endeavored, under the conduct of a father and son, named Watson, to lead the rabble into the city: the numbers who followed them were, however, inconsiderable; but on their march, they broke open the shop of a gunsmith, on Snow-hill, to obtain arms; and the younger Watson there shot a gentleman who offered some remonstrance. Seizing all the arms they could find in that and some other such dépôts, they proceeded in a kind of military array, until they reached the Royal Exchange; when the lord mayor and aldermen, after vainly exhorting them to disperse, boldly secured several of the more audacious who had forced themselves into the building, and caused the gates to be closed against all others. The mob now fired, though without effect, over the gates, on the magistrates; but a strong body of troops having been quickly sent into the city, the rioters were finally overpowered, and compelled to disperse: an example or two was made of the ringleaders; but the greatest criminal, the younger Watson, eluded all search, and effected his escape to America: the vigilance of government however was now excited; and after experience of the danger, every popular meeting in the vicinity of the metropolis was properly watched, without needless interference, by large military bodies and special constables.

From the excitement produced by these domestic occurrences, national attention was for a time diverted to an exploit of our navy, even more glorious, on account of the cause in which it was undertaken, than for the daring valor and brilliant success by which it was distinguished. To the great disgrace of Europe in general, but with greatest reproach, perhaps, to the first of maritime powers, the piratical states of Barbary had for ages been permitted to infest the commerce of the Mediterranean, and carry off Christians to the

Expedition
to Algiers.

CHAP.
LVIII.
1816.

most dreadful slavery; while no law gave them any protection from the caprice and cruelty of masters, who hated and detested them for the very faith which they professed:² the fears indeed of these barbarians had induced them, during the late war, to respect the British flag; but a renewal of free commerce after the peace tempted the three principal states of Tunis, Tripoli, and Algiers to augment the number of their corsairs; and the ferocious system of depredation, which was thus revived against the vessels of nations allied with or protected by Great Britain, rendered it imperative on the mistress of the ocean to vindicate her honor: for this purpose, lord Exmouth, who then commanded in the Mediterranean, was instructed to demand security from these piratical states for the commerce of our Ionian islands; to negotiate a peace for Naples and Sardinia; and, if possible, to obtain a general abolition of christian slavery.³

His lordship proceeded first to Algiers, where he obtained partially the object of his mission, in the release of all Ionian captives, and the ratification of a pacific treaty for Naples and Sardinia; the former nation paying a ransom of 500 dollars, and the latter 300 dollars a head, for their redeemed slaves; but at Tunis and Tripoli, the demand was made and accepted, for a total abolition of christian slavery. In the mean time, he had received instructions to claim from Algiers the privilege of selling and refitting privateers in this port; a privilege, which had lately been granted by treaty to America: returning therefore on this mission, he took the opportunity of pressing on that state also the abolition of slavery; but here he had a more formidable power to deal with: his request

² It was stated in the British house of commons, that 'in one case, fifty out of 300 prisoners died of ill-treatment at Algiers, on the first day of their arrival; the rest were kept in the most miserable condition, being allowed only a pound of bread a day, and subject to the lash from morning to night. No age, no sex was spared. A Neapolitan lady of distinction, carried off with eight children, six of whom survived, was seen by a British officer in the thirteenth year of her captivity.'

³ 'Perhaps there is no instance on record of such detestable bigotry, as that shown on this occasion by the head of the Roman church, who is said to have declined the offer of lord Exmouth's services, from difficulties arising out of religious scruples at confiding a formal trust to a protestant.'—*Life of Lord Exmouth*, p. 293.

was haughtily refused; and when his lordship, together with his brother, sir Israel Pellew, and Mr. M'Donell, the British consul, were returning to the fleet, they were insulted by the populace, and narrowly escaped assassination. As the admiral had made this demand with very slight instructions from our admiralty, he did not think himself justified in proceeding to extremities; especially as it was a common remark, that the obstructions to navigation created by Barbary corsairs, were advantageous to British commerce: he therefore agreed that the dey should appoint an envoy who might proceed first to Constantinople, for the sanction of the Ottoman Porte, and thence to London to treat on lord Exmouth's proposal: his lordship then returned with his fleet to England; nor did he reach its shores, before accounts arrived which determined our government to wait no longer the issue of negotiations, but at once to exact satisfaction for the past, and security for the future: on the twenty-third of May, the Algerines had displayed their revenge, and contempt for our interference, by imprisoning the British vice-consul, and barbarously murdering the crews of several Italian vessels, under our flag, that were engaged in the coral fishery at Bona.

Having received intelligence of these outrages, ministers nobly resolved to enforce obedience on the common enemies of civilised society, who were now considered as having filled up the measure of their iniquity and crimes: lord Exmouth, therefore, received instructions to complete his work; and whatever force he might think necessary was placed at his disposal.

The city of Algiers is built on the declivity of a hill, in a triangular shape, with a base fronting the sea, rising directly from the water, about a mile in length: the place is strongly fortified with walls of immense thickness, mounted with heavy guns; the sea-defences being particularly formidable: the harbor is artificial, formed by a pier and mole; and all parts around it were at this time covered with strong fortifications, mounting no less than 220 guns; some in

double, and others in triple tiers; while the batteries on the wall, and at each extremity of the town, were so numerous, as to bring near 500 pieces of artillery to bear on its maritime approaches: many guns also in fortifications on the higher part of the city, were in situations which enabled them to fire with great effect on assailants. Our lords of the admiralty were not a little surprised, when it was proposed to attack these works with five sail of the line, five frigates, four bomb-ketches, and five gun-brigs; though several naval officers, who were consulted by the board, considered them unassailable; and Nelson himself, in a conversation with captain Brisbane, had named twenty-five ships of the line as a force requisite to attack them.⁴ Lord Exmouth, therefore, was again offered any number of ships which he might think necessary; but having long and well considered the matter, and feeling satisfied that five ships could destroy the fortifications on the mole as effectually as a greater number, and with more safety to the assailants, he fully explained his plans to the admiralty, marked the position which each ship was to occupy, and was allowed to act on his own judgment: accordingly, he set sail, on the twenty-fifth of July, from Portsmouth, on board the *Queen Charlotte*, of 108 guns; with the *Impregnable*, of 104, bearing the flag of rear-admiral Milne; the *Superb*, *Minden*, and *Albion*, of seventy-four; the *Leander*, fifty; the *Severn* and *Glasgow*, forty; the *Hebrus* and *Granicus*, thirty-six; the *Mutine* and *Prometheus*, sixteen; the *Cordelia* and *Britomart*, of ten; and the *Infernal*, *Hecla*, *Fury*, and *Beelzebub*, bomb-vessels: when he arrived, on the ninth of August, at Gibraltar, he found there a Dutch squadron of five frigates and a corvette, commanded by vice-admiral Von Capellan; who, on learning the noble object of this expedition, solicited and obtained leave to join it.

On the thirteenth, each ship received a plan of the fortifications, with full instructions regarding the position she was to occupy: on the fourteenth, they

⁴ Life of Lord Exmouth, p. 309.

set sail; and on the sixteenth, within about 200 miles of their destination, they were joined by the sloop Prometheus, direct from Algiers, bringing information that the Moors had not only completed all their defences, but added new ones; that 40,000 troops had been assembled, and janissaries called in from the most distant garrisons; while the whole naval force, consisting of four frigates, five large corvettes, and thirty-seven gun-boats, were collected in the harbor. In this vessel were the wife, daughter, and infant child of Mr. M'Donell, our consul: the two former had succeeded in getting off, disguised as midshipmen; but the infant, which had been concealed in a basket, cried as it passed the gateway, and thus led to an arrest of all the party then on shore: the child was sent off next morning by the dey; 'a solitary instance,' said lord Exmouth, 'of his humanity;' but the consul was confined in irons at his house; and the surgeon, three midshipmen, and fourteen seamen of the Prometheus, were detained as prisoners.⁵

On the twenty-seventh, at daybreak, the combined fleets came in sight of Algiers; and as the ships lay nearly becalmed, a flag of truce was sent with the terms dictated by our government, and a demand for the immediate liberation of the consul and seamen: the boat carrying the flag was met outside the mole by the captain of the port; who received the admiral's communication, and promised an answer in two hours: in the mean time, a breeze had sprung up, and the fleet, standing into the bay, lay to about a mile distant from the town; at two o'clock, the boat was seen returning, with a signal that no answer had been sent; on which, orders were given, and every ship bore up to its appointed station.

Naval engagement
at Algiers.

The Queen Charlotte led the attack, and at half-past two, anchored near the mole-head; her starboard broadside flanking the batteries from thence to the lighthouse: the mole was crowded with troops and other persons, many of whom had climbed on the parapet to look at the ships; which being observed by

⁵ Life of Lord Exmouth, p. 318.

CHAP.
LVIII.
1816.

lord Exmouth, who stood on the poop, he beckoned to them several times with his hand for the purpose of inducing them to retire, but without any effect: as soon as the ship was fairly placed, the crew gave three hearty cheers; and scarcely had the sound of the last died away, when a gun was fired from an upper tier of the eastern battery, followed by a second and a third in quick succession; but the report of this last was drowned in the thunder of the Queen Charlotte's broadside, which is stated to have swept off more than 500 men from the crowded mole: the admiral was immediately followed by the *Leander*, which placed herself on his larboard bow, at the entrance of the harbor; while the rest of the British fleet passed on, and took their appointed stations; the Dutch, as it had been concerted, anchoring before the works to the southward of the town: eastward of the lighthouse, at a distance of 2000 yards, were placed the bomb-vessels, whence shells were thrown with admirable precision by our marine artillery; while the flotilla of gun, rocket, and mortar boats, directed by captain Mitchell, were distributed near the openings between the line-of-battle ships, and at the entrance to the mole: this disposition of our vessels, commanding the strongest defences, while they were exposed to the weakest part of their fire, gave great confidence both to officers and men: all behaved admirably; and it was not long before the state of the enemy's batteries exhibited proofs of the skill and courage of their assailants.

Before the fight had become general, our flag-ship had demolished the fortifications on the mole: then, drawing her broadside more to the northward, she soon brought down the tower of the lighthouse; and gun after gun fell from the demolished batteries: the last of these was dismounted just as the artillerymen were in the act of discharging it; and an Algerine chief was seen to spring on the ruins of the parapet, shaking his scimitar, with impotent rage, against the ship.⁶ Not long after the attack had fairly commenced, the enemy's flotilla of gun-boats advanced

⁶ Life of Lord Exmouth, p. 324.

with daring courage, under cover of the smoke, to board our vessels; but as soon as they were seen, a few guns, chiefly from the *Leander*, sent thirty-three to the bottom: some time before this, lord Exmouth despatched a message to his brave coadjutor, Von Capellan, to express great satisfaction at the direction and effect of his fire on the southern batteries; which, by taking their attention from the *Queen Charlotte*, enabled that ship to command the mole, and all the enclosed vessels: at four o'clock, when a general and heavy cannonade of more than an hour had produced no signs of submission, his lordship determined to destroy the enemy's ships: accordingly, the nearest frigate was boarded, and fired so effectually with laboratory torches, and a carcass-shell placed on the main-deck, that she was enveloped in flames almost before the barge's crew were over her side: as, however, she burned from her moorings, without communicating the conflagration to other ships, our gun-boats, with the *Queen Charlotte's* launch, threw carcass-shells on the largest frigate, moored in the centre of the flotilla; when, notwithstanding all the enemy's exertions, she was set on fire; and soon communicated the flames, not only to surrounding vessels, but to the store-houses and arsenal: at seven, she came drifting from the harbor, and passed close to the flag-ship, nearly involving her in the same destruction.

About sunset, a message was received from our rear-admiral, requesting the presence of a frigate, to divert from the *Impregnable* some portion of the terrible fire to which that vessel was exposed, and which had already killed or wounded 150 of her crew: the *Glasgow* immediately weighed; but the wind had been lulled by the cannonade, and she could not advance to render the assistance required: then the *Impregnable* received permission to haul off; but a British crew, animated by such leaders as admiral Milne and captain Brace, would not allow their ship so to go out of action; and she nobly kept her station to the last. Toward night, our fleet slackened its fire, as the enemy's guns became silenced; the ships also began to feel a neces-

CHAP.
LVIII.
1816.

sity of husbanding their ammunition; for they had already expended almost 218 tons of powder, and 50,000 shots, weighing more than 500 tons of iron; with 960 shells and rockets:⁷ under such a concentrated and well-directed fire, the sea-defences of Algiers, and great part of the town, lay—a shattered heap of ruins.

At a little before ten, the objects of the attack having been effected, the Queen Charlotte's bower cable was cut, and her head hauled round to seaward; but she still continued to fire her guns abaft the main-mast: warps were run out to gain an offing; but many were cut by shot from batteries to the southward, and from others on heights which the ships' guns could not reach: a very light air was felt about half-past ten, and sail was made; but the vessel was not manageable, except by aid of boats; and the only point gained, was that of keeping her head from the land: at eleven, however, she began to draw out from the batteries; and in about half an hour more she ceased to fire. The breeze now freshened; a tremendous thunder-storm came on, with torrents of rain; and heaven's own artillery seemed as if it was directed against the dwellings of iniquity: in about three hours, the tempest ceased; and lord Exmouth collected in his cabin all the wounded that could be safely moved, to join with him and his officers in thanksgiving to the Almighty for their victory and preservation: in no former action had the casualties been so great in proportion to the force employed; though no single ship in the present conflict suffered very severely, except the Impregnable: the British had 128 killed, and 690 wounded; our Dutch allies had thirteen in the first list, and fifty-two in the second; while the loss of the enemy was estimated at not much less than 7000.

Results of
the victory.

On the twenty-eighth, at daybreak, lieutenant Burgess was sent on shore with a flag of truce, carrying the same demands as were made on the preceding morning: in the mean time, the bomb-vessels took up their former position; and it was the opinion of all the

⁷ Life of Lord Exmouth, p. 328.

consuls, that if our fire had been re-opened, in two more hours it would have involved the whole city in ruins: for the walls were already cracked; and the aqueducts being broken up, the people were perishing for want of water: soon, however, the captain of the port, accompanied by the Swedish consul, came off, and informed lord Exmouth that all his terms would be agreed to; even that most humiliating demand of a public apology from the dey to the British consul, in the presence of his own ministers and officers. Above 1200 slaves were embarked on the thirty-first; making, with those before liberated through the address of lord Exmouth, more than 3000 rescued from a life of torture. Having sent them to their respective countries, and left a ship to receive some individuals who had not yet come up from the interior, he sailed on the third of September for England, where his services were acknowledged in a manner worthy of his exalted merit: he was advanced to the dignity of a viscount, and received an honorable augmentation of his arms; the kings of Holland, Spain, and Sardinia conferred on him their highest orders of knighthood; the city of London voted him its freedom, and a sword ornamented with diamonds, which was presented by the lord mayor, at a banquet very appropriately given by the ironmongers' company, as trustees of an estate left by a Mr. Bretton, for the ransom of christian slaves in Barbary; he received the freedom of the city of Oxford, with the honorary degree of D. C. L. from that university; also an elegant gold medal, of which only four were struck, from the prince regent; while a society, lately established at Paris under the auspices of sir Sidney Smith, for promoting the liberation of christian slaves, caused a medal to be executed in commemoration of his victory. The promotion which followed was on the usual scale; but lord Exmouth considered it so inadequate, so unjust to the extraordinary merits of his junior officers, especially those in the flotilla, which had been commanded chiefly by mates and midshipmen, that he never rested until he had procured an extension of it from our unworthy admiralty: he even

CHAP.
LVIII.

1816.

submitted to their lordships a list of officers whom he thought intitled to promotion, drawn up in a manner easy for reference, marking at once his discrimination of their merits, and the warm interest which he took in their welfare: it is not very satisfactory to add, that the half-measures taken by the British government, which, ever since our Revolution, has been proverbial for its ignorance of the manners, customs, constitution, nay, even geographical situation of foreign countries, failed in producing any permanent effect on a tribe of desperadoes, whose very religion teaches them to laugh at treaties made with christians. The dey indeed soon paid the penalty of his defeat; being strangled a few months afterwards: but piracy again flourished; slavery was re-established; and Algiers luxuriated in its old system, until its barbarian hordes dared to insult the majesty of France.

Domestic
events.

In the early part of this year, Mr. Canning, who was lately returned from Portugal, to which country he had been sent ambassador with an enormous salary, though there was neither a sovereign nor a court to receive him, entered again into office as president of the board of control: those, however, who were anxious for his consistency of character, could not contemplate, without regret, his official subordination to a statesman, whose policy differed from his own, and whom he had publicly denounced as deficient in capacity for any station of high responsibility: indeed, he soon felt himself in trammels; and was at length constrained to dissolve a connexion which he found incompatible with his honor.

If the glory of our navy was this year augmented by the brilliant result of its expedition to Algiers, British science obtained a triumph no less signal, but far more durable, in sir Humphrey Davy's splendid discovery of the safety-lamp, which has rescued thousands from a dreadful death in the subterranean chambers of the earth. From an analysis of the gas from which such destructive effects had proceeded, he found it to be carburetted hydrogen, which would not explode, if mixed with less than

six, or more than fourteen times its volume of atmospheric air; that neither red-hot charcoal, nor red-hot iron, was capable of exploding it; and that the explosive mixture could not be fired in tubes of one-seventh of an inch in diameter, when they were opened in the atmosphere; while metal tubes prevented explosion better than those of glass: on these principles he proposed four lamps,—the safety-lamp, the blowing-lamp, the piston-lamp, and the charcoal-lamp; the first three of which are all extinguished, when the air within becomes explosive: the efficacy of all these contrivances was proved by experiment in real fire-damp; but as the extinction of the light in the three most important compelled the workmen to quit their labor, sir Humphrey felt that his invention was not yet complete: he therefore continued his inquiries, and at length perfected the lamp now used; in which the light, extinguished at the moment of danger, is raised within the wire gauze into a brighter flame, enabling the miner to pursue his work. Such briefly was the progress of this great invention; one of the finest examples known of experimental research; and one of the most valuable presents which science ever made to man; its utility was every where recognised; it was honored by the medals of the royal society, by a magnificent service of plate from the earl of Durham and other proprietors of collieries, and by a beautiful silver-gilt vase from the emperor of Russia, together with a letter expressing admiration of the important discovery.

In March, an expedition, fitted out for the purpose of exploring the interior of Africa, sailed under the command of captain Tuckey; but the pestilential climate proved fatal to that distinguished officer and several of his companions. The year 1816 will be ever memorable to the lovers of art, from the purchase made by parliament of those noble specimens of sculpture which lord Elgin brought from Athens: a select committee had been appointed by the house of commons to consider the subject; and after taking the opinion of the most eminent artists and connois-

CHAP.
LVIII.

1817.

seurs, all of whom classed these marbles among the most exquisite remains of antiquity, they recommended the sum of £35,000 to be paid as the price of their acquisition. These, together with the *relievos* discovered by Mr. Cockerell at Phigalia, and which had previously been purchased at the expense of £15,000, form a splendid school of sculpture, as it existed in its best days; a noble study for the creation and perfection of British artists: through a mean spirit in our government, and bad management in its agents, we lost those rare specimens which illustrate an intermediate stage of the art, discovered by the above mentioned gentleman in the island of Ægina; and they went to adorn the magnificent glyptothek of Munich. On the twenty-seventh of January, this year, died at Bath the venerable admiral lord Hood, in his ninety-second year; his younger brother, though senior officer, lord Bridport, had departed this life before him in 1814, at the advanced age of eighty-seven.

Meeting of
parliament.

At the opening of parliament in 1817, the regent called attention to the existing discontent, and to its causes, which he lamented as not being of a nature to receive immediate remedies: he adverted to the splendid success of our navy at Algiers, and the consequent abolition of christian slavery; praised the fortitude of our people in the trials which they endured; and, considering the great sources of national prosperity essentially unimpaired, expressed a confident expectation that the native energies of this country would, at no distant period, surmount all the difficulties in which it was involved. The annual estimates, he observed, had been formed with an anxious desire to effect all reductions in our public establishments consistent with safety and true policy; but his royal highness regretted that there had been a deficiency in the produce of last year's revenue; though he trusted that this proceeded from temporary causes, and consoled himself in believing that government would find it practicable to provide for the public service without making any addition to the

public burdens. A lamentable comment on this speech quickly followed its delivery; for the prince, on his return from the house, through the Park, was assailed by a violent mob, distressed by sufferings, and taught to believe that his royal highness was insensible to their complaints: stones and other missiles were directed against his carriage, the windows of which were broken by what the attendants conceived to be bullets discharged from an air-gun; but none were discovered, after the most diligent search. This gross and criminal outrage was communicated to the peers by lord Sidmouth; when all consideration of public business was deferred till the following day, and a conference held with the commons, at which a joint address was drawn up, congratulating the regent on his escape: a proclamation also was issued, offering a reward of £1000 for the apprehension of the offenders; but these contrived to escape discovery.

CHAP.
LVIII.

1817.

Attack on
the prince
regent.

Next evening, earl Grey moved an amendment to the address, chiefly for the purpose of expressing an opinion that his royal highness was under a delusion regarding the degree and probable duration of the pressure on our national resources; which was declared to be far more extensive in its operations, more severe in its effects, more deep and general in its causes, and more difficult to be removed, than any which had prevailed at the termination of former wars: to this declaration was added a profession of regret, that the prince regent should not have been sooner advised to adopt measures of rigid economy and retrenchment, particularly with respect to our military establishments; also a resolution that the house should go immediately into a committee on the state of the nation. This amendment was negatived without a division; while a similar one, previously moved in the commons, was rejected by 264 votes against 112: no long time, however, elapsed, before the eyes of almost all were opened to the necessity of making large retrenchments, and of reducing taxation.

On the third of February, a message was commu-

CHAP.
LVIII.
1817.

nicated to both houses, announcing that the regent had ordered the production of papers which contained an account of certain meetings and combinations held in various parts of the country, tending to disturb public tranquillity, to alienate affection from his majesty's person and government, and to overthrow the whole frame of our laws and constitution: his royal highness recommended these papers to the immediate consideration of parliament; and they were accordingly referred by each house to a secret committee. Another communication, different in its nature, was made to the commons by lord Castlereagh on the seventh of the same month, previously to his moving the appointment of a committee of inquiry into the income and expenditure of the state. His lordship said, that he had it in command from the prince regent to announce, that, sympathising with the sufferings of a generous people, he had determined on a cession of £50,000 per annum from that part of his income which was connected with his personal expenses, as long as the present difficulties should continue: at the same time, his lordship declared the intention of ministers to dispense voluntarily with a tenth of their official incomes, while the necessities of the state should require such a sacrifice: the marquis Camden, one of the tellers of the exchequer, also determined to relinquish the large profits of that sinecure office; retaining only £2500 per annum, the regulated income of future tellers. It was thought that his lordship's example would have provoked other wealthy sinecurists and pensioners to relieve the overburdened exchequer; but no such effects proceeded from this splendid instance of generous patriotism; until, in the year 1836, lord Sidmouth signalled his old age by the relinquishment of an official pension. On a reduced scale, the expenditure for the year was estimated at less by £6,500,000 than that preceding it; and a farther saving of more than £1,000,000 was anticipated for 1818: the sum of £500,000, in exchequer bills, for public works and fisheries in Great

Britain, as well as £250,000 out of the consolidated fund, for similar purposes in Ireland, was voted, in April, as means of alleviating the public distress.

CHAP.
LVIII.

1817.

The first report of the committee of inquiry, regarding the abolition of sinecures, was made on the fifth of May; when Mr. Davies Gilbert stated, that in recommending the suppression of certain offices, it was at the same time necessary that his majesty should be enabled to reward meritorious persons, by the power of granting pensions according to the duration of service and the exertions of individuals: a bill, intitled 'The Civil Services Compensation Bill,' was accordingly introduced, with another for abolishing the offices of wardens and justices in Eyre; and these passed through both houses with little opposition. About this time too Mr. Canning exhibited extraordinary powers of eloquence in vindicating his notorious embassy to Lisbon, against a motion made by Mr. Lambton; which was defeated by 270 votes against 96.⁸ At the end of May, Mr. Abbott, finding his health unequal to his laborious duties, resigned the high station of speaker, and was created lord Colchester, with a pension of £4000 to himself and his immediate successor. He was of a sprightly, epigrammatic turn of mind, and had distinguished himself, both at Westminster-school and at Oxford, as a classical scholar: having obtained a seat in the house, he showed much intelligence and diligence in its financial committees, and was taken into favor by Mr. Pitt: he displayed great knowledge of parliamentary forms, with equal firmness in putting them into force; and as he possessed an extraordinary memory, with a calm discriminating judgment, he made a very able and useful speaker; never relaxing his attention, or departing from his dignity. Mr. Charles Manners Sutton, eldest

⁸ 'I am hardly recovered,' says lord Dudley, 'from my delight at the splendid victory Canning gained the other evening. It was the greatest effect without exception, that I ever saw produced by a speech in parliament; and is confessed to have been so even by his enemies. I do not believe there is any instance on record of a man having done so much by a single effort to redeem and raise his character: the whole load of obloquy seems shaken off at once; and his prodigious abilities are now left free to carry him to his natural elevation.'—Letters to the Bishop of Llandaff, p. 166.

CHAP.
LVIII.

1817.

son of the archbishop of Canterbury, was appointed to the vacant chair; so that, while this gentleman stood at the head of British commoners, his father presided over the spiritual peers; one powerful relative, lord Manners, was chancellor of Ireland, and another, the duke of Rutland, was most conspicuous among our nobles for that borough influence which gave to its possessors the means of controlling government. What could be refused by ministers to a family compact like this?

Mr. Abbott's elevation to the peerage vacated a seat in the commons for the university of Oxford; and to this honor it was known that Mr. Canning had long aspired: but the lord chancellor, his brother lord Howell, and other leading opponents of the catholic claims connected with that seat of learning, promptly urged their friends in Oxford to start Mr. Peel as an antagonist, on the ground of resistance to those claims: with such supporters and such a plea, as well as abundant merits of his own, Mr. Peel's election was easily secured.

Restric-
tions on
public
liberty.

Notwithstanding the expectation of coercive measures to be adopted by administration, a multitude of the lower orders, headed by Henry Hunt and his friends, met in Spa-fields on the tenth of February, under the pretext of petitioning for parliamentary reform; and a similar meeting was held three days afterwards in Palace-yard: nothing remarkable, however, occurred on either occasion. On the eighteenth of February, in the house of lords, and on the following day in that of the commons, the secret committees presented their reports: these commenced, by stating their opinion that treasonable conspiracies had been formed in the metropolis and other parts of our empire, which aimed at the total subversion of law and government, as well as the indiscriminate plunder and division of property: the various steps taken by seditious agitators were diligently traced out in public and private meetings; in the circulation of addresses; in the purchase or manufacture of arms, tricolored cockades, and banners; in exertions made to seduce the

soldiers; and in communications regularly held between the conspirators of the metropolis and confederates in other parts of the empire, with an intent to effect a general and simultaneous rising of the people: reference also was made to the existence of societies, under the title of 'Hampden Clubs,' 'Spencean Philanthropists,' and other factions, to extend the plans of anarchy under the guise of constitutional proceedings; also to the administration of secret oaths; to extraordinary measures taken by conspirators for preventing a discovery of their plots; and to the dispersion of seditious, blasphemous, and inflammatory publications, calculated to destroy all moral and religious feelings, as well as to excite hatred and contempt for existing institutions: finally, the committees expressed a decided opinion, that our civil power, as at present constituted, was insufficient to preserve the peace under such circumstances as had been stated.

CHAP.
LVIII.

1817.

Notwithstanding some vagueness of expression, as well as some artifice and exaggeration in these reports; notwithstanding the efforts, and even the success of public disturbers, in throwing discredit on authorities, and ridicule on green-bags; it must be confessed, that the constitution was at this time violated on the popular side; and that the security both of the throne and of the altar, was threatened by a lawless mob, instigated by designing demagogues. The celebrated acts, which were subsequently passed by our legislature, however they may appear to infringe on the liberty of the subject, were effectual in saving this country from insurrectionary violence and bloodshed, if not from the horrors of anarchy.

The first consequence of the above reports was the apprehension of four persons—the elder Watson, Preston, Hooper, and Keene; who were committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason: a reward of £500 was also offered for the apprehension of a man named Thistlewood, who fled from the charge, but was soon taken and lodged with his associates. In the upper house, lord Sidmouth moved for a suspension of the *habeas corpus* act until the first of July next ensuing;

Apprehen-
sions for
high trea-
son.

CHAP.
LVIII.
1817.

when a bill to that effect, with a protest by eighteen peers, on the ground that our existing laws were adequate to the danger, was passed, and ordered to the commons: it there went rapidly through its different stages, and received the royal assent on the fourth of March. Lord Castlereagh also gave notice of farther measures to protect the country against the arts and machinations of disaffected persons: these were an extension of the act of 1795, for security of the king's person, to that of the regent—the revival of an act of the same year against seditious meetings—a renewal of the act of 1795 against corresponding societies—and a re-enactment of that regarding the seduction of soldiers and sailors from their allegiance. Numerous petitions against these restrictions on public liberty, or rather on public licentiousness, particularly against a suspension of the *habeas corpus*, were presented to parliament: in each house also, during every stage of their rapid progress, they were opposed: but a large majority both of lords and commons participated in the alarm expressed by government; so that all attempts at mitigation in the committee failed; and the acts themselves received a legislative sanction.

The suspension of the *habeas corpus* act struck an unexpected blow against the hopes and plans of the apostles of reform out of doors: in consequence of it, Mr. Cobbett, who, in the most unequivocal terms, and in that language which he could so well adapt to the taste and comprehension of the people, had told the laboring classes that the remedy for oppression and taxes lay in their own hands, deemed it prudent to retire to America: he promised however to return, as soon as England should be again under the protection of her constitution; and in the mean time to transmit his *Weekly Register* from the land of his exile: he had scarcely departed, when several weekly publications started up, some of them even more violent in language, and outrageous in doctrines, than the *Political Register* had been; but far behind it in talent, and in the power of exciting the populace to mischief.

When the peers assembled after their Easter recess,

it was ordered, on the motion of lord Grey, that a copy of a circular letter recently addressed by the secretary for the home department to the lord-lieutenants of counties, relative to seditious or blasphemous publications, be laid before the house. In that document, lord Sidmouth stated, that, as it was of the utmost importance to prevent the circulation of such works, he had consulted the law officers of the crown, to know whether a person, found selling or publishing them, might be brought immediately by warrant before a justice of the peace, to answer for his conduct; and their opinion was, that a magistrate might not only issue his order for the apprehension of such an offender, but hold him in bail to answer the charge: under these circumstances, the attention of the lord-lieutenants was earnestly called to the subject; and they were requested to notify such opinion to the chairmen of quarter sessions, in order that magistrates might be led to act on it. When this circular was produced, earl Grey addressed their lordships in a speech replete with legal information; in which he contended against the principle, that a justice of the peace might be called on by any common informer to decide what was or was not a libel, and to commit or hold to bail, on his sole judgment, the party accused: his lordship also asserted, that such a specific intimation to magistrates, regarding the mode in which they were to construe the law, even supposing that law itself to be clear and undisputed, would have been a high offence against the constitution: the noble earl's motion, which was for the production of a case that had been submitted to the law officers, was strongly supported by lords Erskine and Holland; but opposed by lords Ellenborough and Eldon, who were of opinion that the law had been correctly stated in the circular, and who carried a majority of the house in their favor: it was negatived on a division by seventy-five against nineteen; and a similar decision was given on the subject in the house of commons, when introduced by sir Samuel Romilly. On the third of June the lord chancellor affirmed, in opposition to a motion of lord

CHAP.
LVIII.

1817.

Holland, the right of the secretary of state to inhibit the visiting magistrates of any prison from visiting prisoners confined there for state offences; and on the nineteenth, he defended the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act, on plea of the imminent dangers to which the country was exposed. With respect to spies also, he maintained that government, knowing the existence of any plot, was bound to employ such persons, if their aid was necessary to detect and defeat it: the stimulating such persons to go farther was a very different thing.

As the country still continued in a disturbed and alarming state, messages were again sent to both houses from the regent, on the third of June; and the papers produced in consequence, were, as before, referred to secret committees. That of the lords reported, on the twelfth, that after a full consideration of statements laid before them, they were of opinion that the spirit of tumult and insurrection, which gave rise to the bill for suspending the *habeas corpus* act, had by no means subsided; and it was only through its operation, aided by vigilance in the magistrates, and their communications with government, that such spirit could be kept down; also that active preparations were still going on, with a view to subvert the constitution; and that a continuance of the said bill for six months longer was absolutely necessary for the public security. A report of the committee of the lower house traced out the formation and history of several plots at Manchester and in Derbyshire; observing, that confidently as they relied on the general loyalty and good disposition of his majesty's subjects, even in those districts where the spirit of disaffection appeared most strong, they could not but express their conviction, that it was not yet safe to rest intirely for the preservation of tranquillity on the ordinary powers of the law. It was admitted, in the reports, that evidence laid before the committees, had been derived, to a large extent, from the depositions and communications of individuals more or less implicated in the transactions under consideration, or of

such as had insidiously engaged in them with a view of giving information to government: this employment of emissaries and spies, sent down among a starving people in the guise of delegates, was vehemently attacked as an atrocious system, stimulating and suborning crime for the very purpose of denouncing it: but ministers strenuously defended the course which had been taken; and a farther suspension of the *habeas corpus* act to the first of March, 1818, was carried by a large majority.

CHAP.
LVIII.
1817.

One feature of the session was a committee on the poor laws, which, after sitting for a considerable length of time, with Mr. Sturges Bourne for its chairman, made a report in July. Not much new light was thrown on the subject; for the object of those who took on themselves, or were instructed by government, to manage this committee, seemed to be that of neutralising every topic as much as possible, and of keeping as near to the shore as they could; ministers being embarrassed on the subject, and anxious to avoid experiments: it seems however extraordinary, that after this report no steps were immediately taken to amend, at least, the law of settlement; which abounded with evils that could not be denied: but there was a feeling among many, that our poor laws were fundamentally so impolitic and bad, that to soften their evils would be to delay their final abolition; an event, to which they fondly and absurdly looked.

Another, and still more distinguishing feature, was the speech, in which Mr. Brougham submitted to the commons four resolutions on the state of commerce; when he not only exposed the false system on which parliament had long legislated, but taught and enforced those principles of commercial science, which, adopted as they were afterwards by the more enlightened of our ministry, repealed the navigation laws, and liberated trade. ‘The period,’ he said, ‘is now arrived, when, the war being closed, and prodigious changes having taken place throughout the world, it becomes absolutely necessary to enter on a careful but fearless

CHAP.
LVIII.
1817.

revision of our whole commercial system; that we may be enabled safely, yet promptly, to eradicate those faults which the lapse of time has occasioned or displayed; to retrace our steps, where we shall find that they have deviated from the line of true policy; to adjust and accommodate our laws to the alteration of circumstances; to abandon many prejudices, alike antiquated and senseless, unsuited to the advanced age in which we live, and unworthy of that sound judgment which distinguishes this nation.' Adverting to the navigation law, he observed,—' whatever may have been the good policy of this law, I am quite clear that we have adhered to its strict enactments for a century after the circumstances which alone justified its adoption have ceased to exist.'

Before the prorogation of parliament, which took place on the twelfth of July, the financial state of the year seemed to improve: the funds rose above twelve per cent.; corn was sold at a good price; and money began to be plentiful both on mortgage and on discount: the Bank of England also began to pay voluntarily in cash; and the chancellor of the exchequer expressed his opinion confidently, that nothing but some extraordinary shock in the political or commercial system would prevent the restriction of cash payments from being taken off in July, 1818.

The disturbances at Manchester, alluded to in the last report of the secret committee of the commons, were of a very extraordinary description: a large body of persons, calling themselves friends of parliamentary reform, and urged by the resolution of despair, determined to proceed unarmed to London, in order to set forth and explain their distress to the regent in person; for which purpose each individual provided himself with a blanket and a small stock of provisions: such crowds however assembled on the appointed day at Manchester, that the civil powers thought it expedient to call out military aid; when a party of dragoons, accompanied by the magistrates of that district, appeared; and having surrounded a scaffold on which stood the principal instigators of this design, seized

and carried them off: two men, named Johnson and Ogden, who acted as leaders of the mob on former occasions, had been arrested the preceding morning; and the latter of these worthless persons subsequently acquired much notoriety from an alliterative expression applied to him by Mr. Canning in reference to a bodily infirmity, under which he was laboring; and which subjected that eminent statesman to some of the most virulent and galling attacks that embittered his political career. Though the crowd had been dispersed, a considerable number set out on their mission to the metropolis; but not more than 500 proceeded as far as Macclesfield, where a troop of yeomanry had remained to provide against contingences: nothing could be more wretched than the appearance of these outcasts; some actually fainting through fatigue, and all without baggage or any resources to sustain them on their march: they penetrated into Staffordshire; but there ended what has been quaintly termed the 'Blanketteering Expedition.' At this time the general distress of the country, the alarm of ministers, the disposition inherent in subalterns to abuse extraordinary powers, as well as the profligate arts of spies and informers, filled our jails with objects of suspicion or of crime: many were released as arbitrarily as they had been committed; while the more prominent leaders were detained in custody, or sent for greater security to the metropolis: such proceedings contributed much to the exacerbation of parties; acts of justice were confounded, on one side, with acts of violence; while that species of alarmists who were glad to turn the fears of others to party purposes, contended that nothing but the most coercive measures could put down a revolutionary scheme which was tending towards universal confusion. In the month of June, several inmates of the Tower were arraigned on a charge of high treason: the trial of Watson, which was taken first, lasted some days, and was attended by the leading members of opposition: the prisoner was ably defended by Messrs. Copley and Wetherell; and the principal witness for the crown was

Trials for
high trea-
son.

CHAP.
LVIII.

1817.

Prosecu-
tion and
trial of Mr.
Hone.

an accomplice or spy, named Castles: he underwent direct and cross examinations at great length, and deposed to acts of unequivocal treason and conspiracy; but the infamy of his character, as well as several improbabilities in his narrative, deprived his testimony of credit, and the jury brought in a verdict of 'Not guilty,' amid the reiterated cheers of an immense multitude, by which the very avenues to Westminster-hall were filled: on the failure of this case, the others were abandoned, and the prisoners discharged. During this summer, the turbulent disposition of our manufacturing classes exhibited itself in several of the midland and northern counties; when it was thought expedient to appoint a special commission to sit at Derby for the trial of offenders: the first four arraigned were convicted; nineteen others were allowed to plead guilty, on the understanding that mercy would be extended to them; and against twelve the attorney-general declined to call evidence: twenty-three of these deluded men received sentence of death; but three only, Brandreth, Ludlam, and Turner, suffered the extreme penalty of the law. To the machinations of a government spy, named Oliver, many of them ascribed the criminal acts into which they had been led; and the employment of such persons, whose interest led them to foment the plots which they undertook to reveal, was generally condemned: the last of these ministerial efforts was the prosecution of Mr. Hone, for some political parodies of the Litany and other parts of our church service, as blasphemous libels. The defendant acted as his own counsel; resting his plea chiefly on the ground that such parodies were strictly political, and had the negative sanction of uniform toleration; and he cited a very considerable number, which had appeared at different periods, from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. On this trial, which took place before Mr. justice Abbott, he was acquitted; but as there were two more indictments remaining, lord Ellenborough undertook to preside in the court, and interdicted Hone from pursuing the same line of defence; since

blasphemy, like other offences, can derive no sanction or protection from previous impunity: it was supposed that the greater experience and authority of the chief justice would impose silence on the accused, and obtain a conviction from the jury; but a greater mistake was never made: Mr. Hone, in the conflict that ensued, exhibited a union of self-possession, energy, and readiness of argumentation, which have seldom been surpassed in a court of justice: during a struggle of many hours, he succeeded in bringing out portions of his obnoxious defence, at one time by artifice, and at another by clamor; while the overbearing authority of a judge, who was generally thought, whether justly or unjustly, to have a strong political bias, gained an easier admission for his vehement appeals to a British jury: a second verdict of 'Not guilty' was returned; and his lordship came to the charge next day exhausted in spirits and depressed by illness: the contest, on his part, now became more languid; and an appeal to the merciful forbearance of the defendant was even heard from the bench: a third verdict of acquittal ensued; and it was generally supposed, that the already declining health of the lord chief justice was seriously affected by the mortification of spirit which he experienced at these remarkable trials. A large subscription, supported by the names of several distinguished persons, was set on foot to reimburse Mr. Hone for the expense, trouble, and fatigue to which he had been subjected by so many prosecutions; and it is satisfactory to add, that the patronage he received, and the fame he acquired, appear to have infused a better spirit into his moral character; engaging him in literary pursuits, and withdrawing him from that disgraceful career, into which he had so recklessly plunged.

Foreigners at this time began to compare this nation to a stately but strained vessel, which, after having weathered the fury of a storm, sinks amid the heaving waves, before their agitation can subside: little however did they know of that vitality which is inherent in the British constitution, or of that elasticity with

State of
political
parties.

CHAP.
LVIII.

1817.

which the sons of freedom can repair disasters: little did they know of that numerous body of men existing in this kingdom, possessed both of property and intelligence—men placed between the extremes of power, ever liable to exalt itself, and of ignorance, ever liable to be led astray—who were so disposed, under the blessing of Providence, to be the main safeguard of Britain's grandeur and prosperity. These troubles after a time subsided, to be succeeded by others far more alarming in their aspect; but none have been able to sink the vessel of the state: one of the most striking effects, however, produced by the distress incident to the times of which we are treating, was a determination taken by the people to search into its causes, with a view to more legitimate modes of relief: thousands began to study the nature of our constitution, who had never before thought on such a subject; and in proportion as knowledge increased, the outworks of privilege and prescription gave way; and the strongholds of party were shaken by the increasing energy of constitutional reformers.

In a country like Great Britain, a correct knowledge of the state of its political parties, who during particular periods take a regular share in the proceedings of parliament, is essential to the right understanding of its history. The circumstances which raised the present ministry to power, and reduced the numbers of opposition to insignificance, may be summed up briefly in two particulars;—the unexpected success of the former in opposing Napoleon; and the want of prudence in the latter, when political power was either in view, or within their grasp: although ministers were confessedly men of inferior talents, compared with the great statesmen of former times; and stood at the helm of government in a period of unparalleled difficulties, whether we regard political events, or the state of our commerce and finances,—they exhibited, during those difficulties, great steadiness, and adhered to a line of conduct which required perseverance rather than activity: thus, allowing Bonaparte to destroy himself by his own measures, and holding themselves

ready to take advantage of his errors, they acquired much popularity, and retained it unbroken till the events of this year considerably loosened their hold on the affections of the people. No one of the cabinet suffered in this respect more than lord Sidmouth, who, being secretary of state for the home department, was supposed to be more concerned in the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act, and subsequent measures of coercion, than any of his colleagues: a strong suspicion also of lord Castlereagh's principles began to manifest itself; for it was thought that his love of political freedom, and his attachment to the purity of political principle, had not been strengthened by his long and intimate connexion with continental potentates during the latter period of the war: his conduct however was at least uniform and consistent; but this could hardly be said of Mr. Canning, who joined an administration, for the chief members of which he had expressed great contempt; while his speeches in parliament, able and dexterous as they often were, did not sufficiently impress his hearers with a conviction that they proceeded from principle and feeling.

The opposition, however, was not in a state to take much advantage of circumstances which lowered ministers in the eyes of the people: they had once been in power, and twice had it within their grasp; but at no period did they conduct themselves in such a manner as to secure the confidence of the sovereign or of the nation. Mr. Fox had lost some of his popularity before he came into office in 1806, not so much by his opposition to the French war, as by his reluctance to rejoice in victories gained by British valor: but his union with lord Grenville, and a notion that his easy temper would yield too much to that nobleman's politics, destroyed a more considerable portion of it: on his death, lord Grenville's influence being much increased, the whig ministry became still less popular; nor did the cause of their quitting office obtain for them that favor which they missed by omitting to pursue measures of economical and political reform, while in possession of the cabinet. At the

CHAP.
LVIII.
1817.

time of the regency in 1811, and afterwards at the death of Mr. Perceval, they had an opportunity of coming into power; but they raised up so many obstacles, that it seemed as if they were desirous of some excuse to decline it: since the latter of those periods, the triumphant termination of the war, contrary to their uniform predictions, weakened their influence both in and out of parliament; while death among their most eminent leaders, of whom they had lost four⁹ within the last two years, reduced their ranks, comparatively, to a state of insignificance. Mr. Tierney was their leader in the house of commons; but lord Grey was the man upon whose character and influence they chiefly relied. He spoke but seldom, reserving himself for important occasions; when he always spoke with great effect: his style, however, unlike his general deportment, was somewhat harsh and arrogant; whilst his high aristocratic sentiments, and ostentatious display of attachment to 'his order,' sometimes cast a shade of apparent insincerity over his devotion to popular rights.

Ministers frequently reckoned on lord Grenville's friends for support, and still oftener on the religious party under Mr. Wilberforce; though, on several important occasions, this latter was conscientiously arrayed against them. A new and important class of men, which had lately sprung up in the house, though classed with opposition, was disposed to go much farther on points of innovation and reform: at the head of these was Mr. Brougham; and even his principles were carried out to a still greater length by lord Cochrane and a few others, much inferior in acuteness and political knowledge. The chief distinction between the creed of the regular opposition and that of the reformers, was this:—the former thought that the machinery of government, as then constituted, was good, and efficient for all useful purposes; the latter contended that this machinery was so ill-constructed, and so much out of repair, that no talents, skill, or attention could make it work well. The opposition

⁹ Sheridan and Whitbread, Horner and Ponsonby.

wished for retrenchment to a certain extent, and for a change in some parts of our domestic and foreign policy; but they did not desire to touch, except slightly and superficially, the house of commons as then constituted: the reformers, on the other hand, wished to change the state of representation materially, and at once; contending that from such a house originated all the distress under which Great Britain was laboring, and that infringement on liberty, which was felt with indignation: they did not however proceed to the length of universal suffrage and annual parliaments, advocated by lord Cochrane, and supported out of the house by the veteran major Cartwright, Cobbett, and Hunt. These contended, that all the evils under which the country lay—excessive taxation, with its consequent poverty and misery—extravagance in the expenditure of public money—in short, every species of mal-administration, arose from a radical defect in the very formation of the house of commons; maintaining, that if its members were chosen annually, and by universal suffrage, they would be more intelligent, more pure, and consequently better able and disposed to legislate solely for the good of the nation. We may briefly observe, that this opinion took for granted, first, that the great mass of our people were so enlightened and pure, that they would select men also of the most enlightened minds and pure principles to be their representatives; next, that of all great questions brought before parliament, the people were adequate judges; for according to the projected plan of reform, the constituents were to instruct their members, and the latter on all important points to follow those instructions: but we may hope, rather than expect, to see the lower orders of a state brought to such a degree of intelligence and integrity, as this scheme requires. The moderate reformers, however, conscious that even their plans, to be effective, must rest on the foundation of a more liberal and enlightened education, applied themselves earnestly to the great work of reforming the people by such a system: men were encouraged to attend to the cul-

CHAP.
LVIII.
1817.

tivation of their understanding; by which they soon began to perceive that they had a capacity above the grovelling pursuits of sense: hence a desire^{of} of proceeding farther, and of storing their minds with interesting and useful knowlege, increased; while the habit of reflecting more on their best interests increased also: but as it would have been worse than useless to have taught the people to read, and implanted in them a desire to learn, without giving them the means of gratifying that desire in an innocent and beneficial manner, great exertions were subsequently made in the establishment of libraries, lectures, and other institutions, suited to the parties whom they were intended to benefit; and these led ultimately to the publication of those numerous elementary works for the general diffusion of useful knowlege, which have brought the acquisition of it within the reach of all classes.

Death of
the princess
Charlotte.

In the Christmas vacation that able judge in equity, sir William Grant, retired from his office of master of the rolls; being succeeded by sir Thomas Plumer, whose post of vice-chancellor was occupied by the regent's favorite, Mr. Leach; who on this occasion received the honor of knighthood. Toward the close of this year, public attention was diverted from the conflicts of party and machinations of the disaffected, to an event which was felt by the whole nation as a great calamity: the princess Charlotte, the idolised hope of a free nation; she, whose looks of health and smiles of joy had been hailed with heart-felt satisfaction by her future subjects; expired on the sixth of November, after giving birth to a still-born child. The death of this amiable princess was ascribed to the indecision of her medical attendant: in a dreadful state of exhaustion, produced by a long and severe labor, she was suffered to remain without the slightest stimulant, when the strongest should have been administered; in consequence of which neglect, nature was unable to rally; the royal sufferer gradually declined; and the hopes of a great nation merged in acute and lasting sorrow: brief however as were her days, she cannot

be said to have lived in vain, whose life forcibly illustrated the union of happiness with virtue: the day of her funeral, the eighteenth of November, was one of general and unaffected mourning, not only in the metropolis, but throughout the kingdom: it was a day of voluntary humiliation, accompanied by a total cessation from business, and sorrowful meditation on the instability of human joy.

On the thirteenth of February, the silver coinage, ordered last year, was put into circulation; and so rapid was the exchange of the old for the new, that in a few days all was distributed without creating the least confusion: in July came out a new coinage of gold pieces, called sovereigns, value twenty shillings each, weighing five penny-weights, two grains, and three quarters. The anniversary of the battle of Waterloo was this year distinguished by the opening of that magnificent bridge over the Thames, which by a happy change of name¹⁰ was converted into a national monument to the valor of our army: the prince regent, and the duke of Wellington, with a large concourse of nobility and gentry, graced the procession. The total length of this structure, with its approaches, from the Strand to St. George's-fields, is 2890 feet; the length of stone work from bank to bank being 1240: the breadth within the balustrades is forty-two feet, divided on each side by a footway of seven, leaving twenty-eight for the carriage road: it has nine arches, each 120 feet in span; while its superstructure, running parallel with the water line, gives to it that elegance and grandeur, which is not equalled by any work of this description in Europe: the whole exterior is executed in durable moor-stone from Cornwall; and the intire cost did not fall short of £1,260,000. Two dreadful accidents occurred this year, which strikingly illustrate the necessity of prudence both in the adoption and rejection of inventions: a small steam-packet between Norwich and Yarmouth, using a high-pressure engine, and endeavoring to increase its speed, was blown up; when, out of twenty-

Domestic
events.

¹⁰ It was previously called 'the Strand Bridge.'

CHAP.
L.VIII.
— 1817.

two passengers, eight were killed, and many seriously injured: the other occurrence took place at Harraton-colliery, near Durham, where an obstinate man, disdainng to make use of sir H. Davy's admirable invention, carried a lighted candle into the mine; when an explosion took place, by which thirty-eight men and boys lost their lives: so great was its force, that although the pit was eighty-two fathoms deep, two bodies were blown from the bottom into the open air, as if they had been projected from an enormous piece of ordnance.

Review
of foreign
govern-
ments.

France was now relieved from one-fifth of the army which occupied its territory. At the election of members for the chambers, most unworthy arts were adopted by the ministry; but six of the eight elected for the department of Paris were in the popular interests, and government was altogether in a minority: notwithstanding the presence of a foreign force, it was thought necessary to suspend the law for securing personal liberty, and to revive for a time the jurisdiction of prevotal courts for the sake of summary proceedings against seditious persons. In Germany, great discontents manifested themselves, especially among students at the universities: those of Jena invited the rest to send deputies to the Warteburg near Eisenach, for the purpose of celebrating the battle of Leipsic, where they met in large numbers, on the seventeenth of October: the professors and students present went in solemn procession next day to the Warteburg, where an harangue was delivered by one of them; who, after calling to recollection the great day on which the sun of German freedom rose, observed how little the result had answered those expectations which the people were intitled to form; for no prince had yet performed the promise publicly made, except him in whose territories they were then solemnising the festival: they afterwards burned, at a kind of *auto da fe*, several obnoxious works, as well as instruments and other monuments of old German slavery; and, before they broke up, they pledged themselves to each other, on the sacrament, that they would conscientiously endea-

vor to carry into execution the obligations which they had imposed on their consciences. In Prussia, a strict censorship was exercised over all political publications; and the Rhenish Mercury, a journal which had obtained extensive circulation, was suppressed. The states of Wurtemberg advanced their constitutional claims, to be confirmed by their king; but he refused to grant them, dissolved the assembly, and took the administration of finances into his own hands. In Austria, the pecuniary embarrassments of government were very great; and in Spain also the finances were in a very distressed condition, which the want of cordiality between the governors and the governed was little calculated to relieve: in Valencia, the people raised a cry of 'the constitution!' and were with difficulty reduced to submission; while at Barcelona, a formidable conspiracy was detected: the fanatical Ferdinand, in the mean time, signalised his catholic zeal by prohibiting all books which impugned the authority of the pope, or the holy tribunal of the inquisition. In South America, the contest was protracted with various success; but the thread by which the authority of Spain was there held became evidently more slender. In Brazil, the court evinced little disposition to return to Europe; and as Portugal thus became degraded into the rank of a tributary state, a plan for the establishment of an independent government was secretly agitated: but it was soon discovered; and, like those in Spain, terminated fatally to its chief promoters. In North America, Mr. Monroe succeeded Mr. Madison as president; and that country rapidly recovered from the temporary pressure of war; destined, as it would seem, to run an extraordinary career of republican fraud and violence, until it shall either be split by domestic feuds into different states, or be forcibly coerced by a combination of outraged and indignant nations.

CHAPTER LIX.

GEORGE III. (CONTINUED.)—1818.

Opening of parliament—Speech of the commissioners, &c.—Lord Castlereagh's motion for secret committees preparatory to a bill of indemnity—Strenuously opposed, but carried—Reports of the same—Indemnity bill carried—Grant of one million for the building of churches—Bank restriction extended to July 5, 1819—Negotiation with Spain to discontinue the slave trade north of the line—Royal marriages, &c.—Supplies—Alien act—Sir Samuel Romilly's attempt to repeal part of the act against privately stealing in shops, &c.—Motion for a committee by Mr. Brougham to inquire into the education of the poor—Dissolution of parliament—State of the manufacturers of Lancashire—General election—Deaths of sir Samuel Romilly, lord Ellenborough, and queen Charlotte—Ecclesiastical and judicial returns—Increase of forgeries—Price of consols—Bankruptcies—Wager of battle—Determination to pull down Carlton-house, &c.—Congress of Aix la Chapelle, evacuation of France by the allied forces, &c.—Meeting of new parliament—Duke of York appointed guardian to his majesty—Committee on the criminal code—Measures taken for the resumption of cash payments—Financial statements—Catholic claims—Foreign enlistment act—Reversal of a bill of attainder against lord Edward Fitzgerald—Slave trade—Emigration—Close of the session—General distress consequent on the alteration of currency—Seditious assemblages—Meeting at Manchester: its dispersion by the yeomanry cavalry attended with loss of life—Trial, sentence, and imprisonment of Hunt and his accomplices—Popular discontents—Meeting of parliament—Evidence on the disaffected state of the manufacturing districts—Restrictions on public liberty—Parliamentary reform—Cession of Parga to the Turks—Continental politics—South American provinces—Public improvements.

Opening of
parliament.

THE sixth and last session of the existing parliament was opened by commission on the twenty-seventh of January: the speech was chiefly remarkable for that confident tone in which ministers congratulated the

nation and themselves on the return of public prosperity and tranquillity; and it concluded with a recommendation that additional churches should be built, 'to meet the increased population of the country, and to promote religious and moral habits in the people.' The address in the upper house was unanimously agreed to: that in the commons also was carried without a division, but not without animadversion from lord Althorp and sir Samuel Romilly, who strongly deprecated the demoralising system of *espionnage*, as well as the arbitrary imprisonment and tyrannical persecutions which had been lately carried on by government.

On the fourth of February, lord Castlereagh, by royal command, brought down to the house a bag of papers relating to the internal state of the country, and proposed the appointment of a select committee for their examination; but as this was understood to be a preliminary step to a general bill of indemnity for every measure taken by ministers under the suspension of the *habeas corpus* act, by which all persons who had been imprisoned and discharged without trial would be debarred from legal remedies,—the motion for a committee was strenuously resisted by the opposition, who contended that a very different sort of inquiry was called for into the conduct of administration: but though the green bag and its contents elicited much lively sarcasm, especially from Mr. Tierney, the committee prayed for was appointed, and a similar one also in the upper house. On the twenty-third of February, this latter made a report, relating chiefly to recent disturbances in the counties of Nottingham, Derby, and York; to the progress of insurrection, and the check which it had received by various arrests and trials; as well as to the necessity which existed for continued vigilance against a spirit of conspiracy, which was still active, particularly in the metropolis: this report proceeded to state, that forty-four persons had been arrested, under warrants from the secretary of state, who had not been brought to trial, but that such arrests were justified by circum-

CHAP.
LIX.
1818.

stances; and no warrant of detention appeared to have been issued except in consequence of information tendered on oath: the persons detained, but not prosecuted, had been at different times discharged; and government seemed to have exercised the powers with which it had been invested with discretion and moderation. On the twenty-fifth, the duke of Montrose brought in a bill of indemnity, founded on this document, which was strongly defended by the lord chancellor, as the legitimate sequel of last year's bill for a suspension of the *habeas corpus*; and, after the rejection of an amendment proposed by the marquis of Lansdowne, was carried by a large majority. At its third reading, lord Eldon inveighed against the doctrine, that libels on the laws and constitution ought to be left unpunished, lest the notice of them should attract greater publicity; and he applauded the exertions made by the attorney-general, sir S. Shepherd, in suppressing seditious and blasphemous publications. When introduced into the house of commons on the tenth of March, by the attorney-general, the bill was strongly opposed by sir Samuel Romilly, who contended that it was improperly called a bill of indemnity: the object of indemnity was only to protect individuals against public prosecution, without interfering with the rights of private persons; but the purport of this bill was to annihilate such rights; to take away all legal remedies from those who had suffered under an illegal and arbitrary exercise of authority. Mr. Lambton, after some forcible observations, moved an amendment, that it be read again that day six months; which, however, was rejected by a majority of a hundred and ninety to sixty-four: it was read a second time on the following day; but the chief discussion took place on the order for committing it, when several petitions, complaining of grievous oppression, were presented to the house; though the allegations contained in them were for the most part grossly exaggerated, distorted, or false: the case chiefly relied on, and which was frequently dressed up afterwards to awaken or keep alive indignation against the tyranny

of administration, was that of William Ogden, which represented 'that he was seventy-four years old, with seventeen children; that he had been confined nine months under manacles thirty pounds in weight, which dislocated his arm; and that, being subject to a distressing complaint, he had cried out bitterly for assistance; but no one came to him for sixteen hours, during which time he suffered the most excruciating torture.'

Now it turned out that scarcely a syllable of this statement was true: the man had expressed gratitude for the kind treatment which he received during his confinement; having been cured, at the public expense, and with great humanity, of an infirmity under which he had been laboring for twenty years: Mr. Canning, having exposed the abominable falsehoods which pervaded these documents, exclaimed in a tone of pardonable triumph, and without justly exposing himself to any charge of inhumanity;—'the case of the revered and ruptured Ogden may be a very fit one to be brought before the Rupture Society; but to ask for it the decision of parliament, is a daring attempt on our credulity:' yet this harmless pleasantry, which, so far from trifling with human suffering, merely exposed its hypocritical assumption for a base and malignant purpose, was magnified into a crime against human nature, and an outrage on the feelings of the assembly which it insulted; whilst an anonymous pamphlet, which affected the style of Junius, concluded its invectives and denunciations with the following threat:—'if I should ever be a prisoner of state; and, after being maimed by your jailors, should be assaulted by your jokes,—I will put you to death with the same deliberation as I now give you timely warning: this is no idle, although it is a defensive menace; nor is the resolution confined to one individual: *idem trecenti juravimus.*'

In answer to this attack, Mr. Canning, who was of a very susceptible temperament, addressed a short and explicit note to the anonymous author, through his publisher; in which he observed,—'To you, sir,

CHAP.
LIX.
1818.

whoever you may be, I address myself thus directly, for the purpose of expressing to you my opinion, that you are a liar and a slanderer, and want only courage to be an assassin. I have only to add, that no man knows of my writing to you; and that I shall maintain the same reserve so long as I have any expectation of hearing from you in your own name:' the writer, however, refused to unmask himself; but sir Philip Francis, to whom the pamphlet, on account of its style, had been attributed, voluntarily came forward, and disclaimed, not only the authorship, but any knowledge of the transaction. The indemnity bill was read a third time on the thirteenth of May, and passed by a majority of eighty-two votes against twenty-three.

According to the recommendation conveyed to parliament by the commissioners, a sum of one million sterling was granted this session, to be raised by exchequer bills, for the purpose of supplying the want of churches, and chapels of ease, where the increase of population rendered such accommodation necessary: a considerable sum was also raised by subscription in furtherance of so important an object. Desirable as it always must be to keep the places of worship for members of our establishment on a par with the population, the equity of a parliamentary grant for such a purpose may perhaps be questioned: when various sects of professing christians complain that they are taxed for the maintenance of our national church, they may be met with an irresistible argument;—that the tithes and lands set apart for such a purpose are a tax on no man: they were settled on the church centuries ago by persons who had an unqualified right to give or bequeath their property for this or any other lawful purpose: in fact, instead of being a tax, they are an alleviation of taxation; they are a boon to the people, since they provide for all ranks convenient places of divine worship, at free cost, with ministers qualified to promote it: nay, more; they place in every parish a person, on whom it is incumbent to administer comfort and consolation, both to the bodily

and spiritual wants of his poorer neighbors: but in the present day, when a sum of money is voted by parliament for the augmentation of churches, a portion of it is taken, against their will, from many who dissent from the doctrines or discipline of our establishment; it is not probable therefore, that recourse will be often had to such a method of remedying an acknowledged evil: hence the necessity of encouraging that more legitimate mode of private subscription, which, to the credit of our establishment and government, has been promoted by the foundation of a church-building society, the funds of which are augmented, from time to time, by king's letters addressed to every officiating minister throughout the realm: of late years, diocesan societies have sprung up in aid of the parent institution; and a spirit has been awakened, which, with God's blessing, bids fair to free our church from this source of danger.

At an early period of the session, Mr. Grenfell inquired of the chancellor of the exchequer, whether any occurrence was likely to prevent the resumption of cash payments by the bank in July; observing, at the same time, that the public stood in the situation of debtor to the bank for £3,000,000 advanced without interest, and for £6,000,000 at an interest of four per cent.; but as the bank had secured possession of a balance of public money deposited in their hands, which, for the last twelve years, had amounted on an average to £11,000,000, for the repayment of these sums, he asked whether any arrangement was made for discharging, or placing them on a better footing. Mr. Vansittart, in reply, stated, that the bank had made ample preparation for resuming its payments in cash at the time fixed by parliament; but that pecuniary transactions were going on with foreign powers, which might probably require an extension of the restriction: with respect to the loan of £6,000,000, he should, ere long, submit a proposal for its repayment, allowing the country still to enjoy the benefit of that on which no interest was paid. On a future day, in submitting some propositions to a committee

CHAP.
LIX.
1818.

of the house, he observed, that in January, 1817, the bank had given notice of its readiness to pay in specie outstanding notes of a particular description, for which cash to the amount of about £1,000,000 might have been demanded; but a very inconsiderable sum was called for. At that time gold bullion was reduced to £3 18s. 6*d.*, and silver to 4s. 10*d.* the ounce: in October, notice was given that the bank was ready to pay in cash all notes dated prior to January, 1817, but the result was very different; for upwards of two millions and a half were drawn out, of which scarcely any portion remained in circulation: this arose from large remittances to foreign countries consequent on the importation of corn, the residence of Englishmen on the continent, and the negotiation of a loan in this country by France; it now therefore became inexpedient for the bank to resume cash payments; and the restriction was continued till the fifth of July, 1819. The treaty with Spain, by which, in consideration of a subsidy of £400,000, she consented to abolish the slave-trade on all the coasts north of the line, retaining however the privilege of continuing it indefinitely to the south of that limit, received the sanction of parliament: for each nation a right of search was stipulated; but no detention of vessels was to take place, unless when slaves were found actually on board.

Royal
marriages.

The death of the princess Charlotte, and consequent failure of a direct succession to the crown, seem to have induced several members of the royal family to enter into the marriage contract. Princess Elizabeth, the old queen's favorite daughter, had in the early part of this year been led to the altar by the prince of Hesse Homberg: the duke of Clarence was now united to a princess of Saxe Meiningen; the duke of Kent to a princess of Leiningen, sister of prince Leopold; and the duke of Cambridge to a princess of Hesse. Suitable provisions for the royal pairs were made by parliament, at the recommendation of the regent; but though ministers came to the house on this occasion ready to propose most extravagant grants, the

strong observations addressed to lord Castlereagh by Mr. Tierney and other members, induced the noble secretary to modify his intended propositions: indeed, a motion made for allowing the equitable sum of £10,000 per annum to the duke of Clarence, was met by an amendment, which was carried, limiting the grant to £6000, as well as to his royal brothers: through a conciliatory appeal of his lordship, a like sum was voted, as a provisionary reversion to the duchess of Cumberland, after it had been refused, by a large majority, to her royal consort. During these discussions, Mr. Wilberforce took occasion to inveigh against the royal marriage act, which prevented the several branches of the august family on our throne from entertaining the best of human feelings, and from forming connexions, which might at once promote their happiness and guarantee their virtue: it seemed to imply that they could be rendered better political characters by being made worse men; which was a most mistaken notion, as well as immoral doctrine. Certainly the political evils of this act became now apparent in its effects on the succession, when there remained to the reigning monarch no legitimate descendant either of the male or female branches, and the nation had in prospect a broken lineage and a doubtful throne.

In May the lord chancellor introduced a bill, which passed into a law, for amending the regency acts. Its objects were to increase the number of the queen's council, and to dispense with the necessity of an immediate meeting of parliament, in case of her majesty's death. The same noble person opposed sir R. Peel's bill, for abridging the labor of children in cotton factories, when brought into the upper house, 'confessing himself one of those who really thought that philanthropy had not taken its right course in modern times.'

The supplies of this year were estimated at £20,952,400; to meet which, in addition to the ways and means, a three and a half per cent. stock was created, to the amount of £14,000,000; so that no new taxes were levied, nor any additions made to the

CHAP.
LIX.
1818.

old ones. The alien act was continued for two years; it being considered necessary to keep out, as well as to send out, of Great Britain, persons who might take advantage of the vicinity of France, to excite a spirit hostile to the security of this and other European governments. That enlightened legislator, sir Samuel Romilly, introduced a bill to do away with the capital part of the act respecting privately stealing in shops, &c.; setting forth in his preamble the maxim, that extreme severity of punishment tends to procure indemnity for crime: the attorney-general, horror-struck at this general principle, besought the house to expunge it; but the authority of sir Samuel, who declared that the acts of modern legislation recognised no principle whatsoever, while he wished to pursue the reasonable course of setting forth in the preamble that on which his bill was founded,—carried both through the commons: but when this humane measure of sound policy was presented to the lords for their concurrence, the cry against innovation was reiterated from the wool-sack: the bill was rejected; and a measure of great and salutary efficacy was postponed for many years, until it was taken up by a more fortunate statesman. The present was the sixth time that the house of commons had agreed to abolish the punishment of death in the case of stealing in shops and warehouses under a certain amount; and for six times had lord Eldon's resistless influence with the lords succeeded in averting such improvement from the laws of criminal justice: in like manner, he opposed the abolition of capital punishment for the offence of stealing from the person; but as that measure had been sanctioned by the legislature, he drew the following conclusion from it in opposition to the present bill, when it was first proposed:—‘you have already,’ said his lordship, ‘committed enough of mischief by the forty-eighth of George III.: for God’s sake, take care what you do! prosecutions are now twenty to one, compared with what they were under the old state of the law: there is a bounty given to crime, and crime accordingly increases.’ Who would impute to a man of lord Eldon’s

mild and benevolent disposition a spirit of sanguinary and gratuitous severity? but it is worthy of remark, how the adoration of 'things that be' can blind a vigorous intellect, when he was unable to perceive that the number of prosecutions had increased, not that of crimes: it was, in fact, one of the main objects of the bill to induce men to prosecute; and twenty would naturally be impelled to seek for a mitigated penalty, when scarcely one would demand the capital punishment; his lordship, however, clung to an old system, with an obstinacy which wanted only a good cause to become perfect heroism: eloquence and argument might carry the outworks of his citadel, or even beat the venerable fabric about his ears; but to terms he would not listen.

Before the close of this session, Mr. Brougham succeeded in his motion for a committee of inquiry respecting the education of the poorer classes,—the first step toward that system of popular instruction, in which this eminent person has effected so much. Fourteen commissioners were to be appointed by the crown, six of whom were to have no salaries: but the bill underwent many alterations in its passage through the upper house, where lord Eldon used all his influence against it, declaring that it was a vexatious measure, calculated to deter men of honor and character from undertaking the responsibility of charitable trusts; and recommending the poor, with a simplicity peculiar to himself, to seek a redress of grievances against the rich in the court of chancery! in that court, which, second only to the evil of intestine war, facilitated the usurpation of property; reduced widows and orphans to the necessity of begging their bread; and, by its insuperable forms of delay, racked the brain of manhood until insanity relieved the wretched suitor from the horrors of a judicial purgatory! The commissioners to be appointed by this bill were limited to the investigation of charities connected with education: they were precluded from investigating the state of education among the poor generally; and they were directed to traverse the country, and to call

CHAP.
LIX.

1818.

witnesses before them, without possessing any authority for enforcing attendance, or for demanding the production of documents. Mr. Brougham observed, that the bill, as it now stood, left every thing to the good will of those who had an interest at variance with the inquiry; yet good might still arise from the exercise of powers possessed by the house itself: the means to be used were, that the commissioners should proceed and call witnesses; that they should report occasionally to the house, and make returns of all persons refusing to give information, or to produce documents, without just cause of refusal; and the committee, which would be reappointed next session, might be empowered to call those individuals before them.

Domestic
occurrences.

Parliament was dissolved, on the tenth of June, by the regent in person; who, in concluding his speech, congratulated both houses on the manifest improvement which had taken place in the internal circumstances of the country, and which promised to be steadily progressive: distress, however, though mitigated, still prevailed; and the cotton-spinners, as well as other classes of manufacturers in Lancashire, remained in a state of organised opposition to their masters on the subject of wages: from this cause several partial disturbances arose; one in particular at Burnley, and another at Stockport; but through the prompt exertions of the Manchester yeomanry, these irruptions were suppressed without bloodshed: it is probable, however, that considerable bitterness of feeling was mutually excited between the yeomanry and the lower classes, which subsequently burst forth with calamitous fury. A kind of diversion from present troubles was created by the general election which took place this summer. Sir Samuel Romilly, the enlightened statesman, the philosophic lawyer, and the eloquent advocate of every noble and generous cause, was returned for Westminster without personal solicitation, or any species of patronage; but he had not long been honored by this testimony of public approbation, when, overcome by a domestic calamity which unsettled his reason, he put a period to his existence.

About the same time, the nation suffered another loss in one of the most eminent of its judicial functionaries, when lord Ellenborough, who had for sixteen years presided over the seat of criminal justice, resigned that high situation; and quitted the scene of life on the thirteenth of December: his advancement had been extremely rapid; but his early path had been trodden with great care and diligence: to a bold and manly address, a discriminating intellect, and a nervous eloquence, he added deep application, and patient study of his profession; while he possessed, in a high degree, that feeling of superiority, which is almost sure to command success: in his court he was sometimes harsh and hasty, and his temper was such as might have led many men of less capacity into error; but the sight of his mind was so clear and quick, that he penetrated a question and its solution, before many would have comprehended the terms in which it was proposed. His adversaries charged him with a strong inclination towards arbitrary principles; but the chief cause of such an imputation, was that utter scorn of popular applause which he always exhibited: another perhaps arose from his frequent visits at Carlton-house, with the royal master of which he was on terms of close intimacy. Mr. justice Abbott succeeded his lordship on the bench, with increasing honor to himself, and advantage to the public: the death, however, of a still more exalted personage this year remains to be recorded. In consequence of the queen's declining state of health, two amendments had been made in the regency bill last session; the one empowering her majesty to add six members to her council, resident at Windsor, in the event of her own change of residence; the other repealing a clause, which rendered a new parliament necessary in case of her demise: these amendments were opportunely made; for, after a lingering illness of six months, borne with becoming fortitude and resignation, her majesty expired at Kew on the seventeenth of November, in the seventy-fifth year of her age. The character of queen Charlotte would scarcely require comment, had not the spirit of

CHAP.
LIX.
—
1818.

Death of
queen
Charlotte.

CHAP.
LIX.
1818.

the times, particularly during the latter part of her life, cast on it much and unmerited obloquy: the truth is, that her disposition was formed rather to secure respect than to command affection; though her sense of decorum might border on austerity, and her love of economy carry her a little beyond the bounds of regal propriety; yet proofs are not wanting of her readiness to assist distress and to patronise merit: she possessed a strong and sound judgment; using her influence with much discretion, and declining a too anxious or busy interference in affairs of state; if we except very frequent and importunate requests for the disposal of ministerial patronage:¹ as a wife and mother, she was very exemplary; and during the long period in which she presided over the British court, she preserved it from the contamination of vice, notwithstanding the dangers proceeding from the licentious example of other European dynasties; and from that moral relaxation, which our own rising prosperity was calculated to produce: her majesty's remains were interred, on the second of December, in the magnificent vault of St. George's chapel; prepared by him, whom a merciful Providence preserved from the knowlege of those ravages, which death was making among the dearest objects of his affection.

During this year, returns were made to parliament respecting our ecclesiastical establishment in England and Wales; when the number of benefices was found to be 10,421, and that of churches and chapels 11,743, for a population of 9,940,391: the glebe houses fit for residence amounted to 5417; the total number of benefices not exceeding £100 per annum was 2274; while those of £150 and under reached the number of 3503.² In the present year also, tables were made

¹ Lord chancellor Eldon in his correspondence complains much of this interference with his rights of patronage.

² One of the greatest evils of our establishment seems to be the disproportion between the highest and lowest classes of its benefices: this however is now receiving some alleviation from the wise regulations of a church commission. In noticing the efforts making to remedy this evil, it would be unjust to pass over the noble exertions of bishop Blomfield in the metropolis; and the disinterested conduct of Dr. Monk, bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, who has appropriated one-tenth of the gross revenue of his see to the augmentation of its small livings.

out for a considerable number of years past, relating to prosecutions for forging on, or passing forged notes of, the Bank of England: and the result turned public attention strongly to the necessity of the great remedy for this increasing evil, in the resumption of cash payments: within the two years and two months immediately preceding the twenty-fifth of February, there had been fifty-six capital convictions on this account, and 288 prosecutions: juries also now began to show unwillingness to bring in a verdict of guilty against parties accused: two at the Old Bailey, on the fifth of December, acquitted the persons tried before them, because the clerk of the bank refused to explain the marks whence he believed the notes to be forged.

The revenue of the country was this year less by £14,000,000 than its expenditure; yet the three per cent. consols rose as high as $81\frac{1}{4}$, and closed in December at 79: the total number of bankruptcies in 1818 was 1056, which was a decrease of 519 from that in 1817; and the amount of money deposited in the savings banks, up to the thirteenth of July, was £1,254,021. This year, an extraordinary case of law was decided in the court of king's bench: Abraham Thornton had been tried at Warwick assizes for the murder of Mary Ashford, and acquitted; circumstances however appeared so strong against him, that the verdict was deemed unsatisfactory, and an appeal against it was laid by William Ashford, brother of his supposed victim: on this, a wager of battle was demanded by the accused, who cast down his glove in open court, according to ancient custom, defying the accuser to mortal combat: so unusual a procedure determined the court to take time in considering the case; and on the sixteenth of April, it decided that the law gave to the accused a right to his wager of battle; but the appellant, who was quite a youth, and very inferior in bodily strength, declined the challenge, and the defendant was discharged; in the next session of parliament, however, a law passed to

CHAP. repeal trial by battle, as well as appeals in the case of
LIX. murder.

1818.

While the regent was indulging his capricious taste in architecture and upholstery at Carlton-house, aided by a council of professional men and amateurs, the decease of her majesty took place; and as Buckingham-house then became disposable, it was determined to take down Carlton-house altogether, and convert the queen's mansion into a palace fit for the residence of a British monarch: this resolution was important, from the additional impulse given by it to architecture, which, of all the arts, has of late years been most encouraged in Great Britain; and from the consequent improvement of its now splendid metropolis. The conclusion of this year was marked by the accession of the duke of Wellington to the cabinet, which he entered as master-general of the ordnance, on the retirement of lord Mulgrave.

Congress
at Aix-la-
Chapelle.

In order to complete the design of the allied sovereigns, as far as could be done by outward forms, there was still wanting a full and perfect reconciliation with France: after arrangements, therefore, had been made for a discharge of those pecuniary engagements into which she had entered, it was notified to her ministry, by the congress sitting at Aix-la-Chapelle, that all military occupation of her territory would cease; and the measure was carried into execution in October; when France was adopted into the alliance: at the same time, a declaration of the principles actuating this great monarchical confederacy was published; which asserted that its object was not directed towards any new political enterprises, nor intended to disturb any relations already subsisting between powers, and consecrated by various treaties still in force: in its steady and peaceful course, it was said to aim at nothing so much as the preservation of tranquillity, while it engaged to observe strict obedience to the maxims of popular right; since the constant application of those maxims to a permanent state of peace afforded the only effectual guarantee for the independence of

each separate power, and the security of the whole confederation. Professing fidelity to these principles, the allied sovereigns undertook to observe them in the various conferences which might from time to time be held, either between themselves, or their respective ministers; promising that they would never cease to labor in strengthening and perfecting the work which they had so far completed; while they solemnly acknowledged, that their duty toward God and their subjects imposed on them the obligations of justice, unanimity, and moderation.

CHAP.
LIX.
1819.

If this declaration had confined itself to the real object of alliance,—the preservation of peace in connexion with *legitimacy*,—it would, at least, have obtained credit for sincerity and consistency; but when it talked of the maxims of popular right, as guiding the allied sovereigns, while they tolerated the wicked conduct of the *beloved* Ferdinand, and that of every other bigoted and tyrannical sovereign in Europe, it allowed people to suppose that sinister motives and ambitious views were concealed in the back-ground.

The new parliament assembled on the fourteenth of January, when Mr. Manners Sutton was re-elected speaker of the commons without competition, and chief baron Richards took his seat on the woolsack in consequence of the lord chancellor's indisposition. Among other topics, the royal speech alluded to the favorable state of our revenue, and to the improved aspect of trade, commerce, and manufactures; while the public income still fell short of the expenditure by £14,000,000; and the most serious disturbances were fermenting in the very heart of our manufacturing districts: mention also was made of an extension of the commercial treaty now existing between this nation and the United States, to a farther term of eight years. Ministers were severely handled in the upper house by lord Lansdowne, and in the lower by Mr. Macdonald; the latter of whom treated as extravagant their representations of the state of the country in the speech and address; describing them as distinguished by

Meeting of
new parlia-
ment.

CHAP.
LIX.
1819.

egregious political blunders, and great military success; as unable to arrive at an opinion on such leading questions of government, as the currency, the poor laws, law reform, or the catholic question; and as sustained only by the divisions of party, between the public apathy on one side and public disgust on the other: in both houses, however, the addresses were agreed to without a division.

On the twenty-fifth of February, lord Kenyon moved in the house of lords for a committee to inquire into the condition of factory children; when the chancellor, without opposing the motion, 'desired to have it known, that the over-working of children was an offence indictable at common law. He saw no reason why the master manufacturers and the master chimney-sweepers should be subjected to the operation of different principles from those applied in other trades: if any measure of this kind were tried, it ought to comprehend manufactures of all descriptions.' The result was the statute 59 George III. cap. 16, limiting the time of labor, in cotton mills and factories, to twelve hours for persons under sixteen years of age, and prohibiting the employment of children under nine.

As the queen's demise rendered it necessary that a guardian of his majesty's person should be appointed, lord Liverpool named the duke of York; and the propriety of his nomination was universally admitted: but a second proposition, that the duke should receive a salary of £10,000 per annum out of the public purse for the performance of this duty, was met with vehement opposition, and carried by only a small majority: a proposal for paying this sum out of the privy purse was indignantly opposed by lord Eldon; who objected to the king's privy purse being made liable, like the property of a subject, to his maintenance during lunacy; for his majesty was intitled, both in health and sickness, to a maintenance by the nation, irrespectively of his privy purse: several debates subsequently took place respecting the Windsor establishment, the expenses of which excited much

freedom of remark both in and out of parliament; it being represented as a mockery of national distress, no less than of the melancholy visitation of the royal personage himself; kept up for the purpose of ministering to the prodigality of a prince; and to the rapacity of courtiers.

CHAP.
LIX.
1819.

The English character is far from being distinguished by a tendency to cruelty; yet perhaps no nation ever sustained greater reproach on that score from foreigners than our own, chiefly through the severity of our laws, which enacted the punishment of death for so large a catalogue of offences. But to prove how little this reproach was merited, it may be sufficient to state, that an evil of great magnitude had arisen from the very merciful disposition of the nation, shown, not only in its aversion to prosecute offences, but in the inclination of juries to save offenders from the operation of a barbarous system of criminal jurisprudence: thus crimes increased, in proportion as men found they might commit them with impunity.

The state however of our criminal code had for some time occupied the attention of parliament, under whose notice it had frequently been brought by sir Samuel Romilly, one of the few English lawyers who could ascend from petty details to general principles, and combine a generous eloquence with a practice of the law. Over this genuine philanthropist the grave had unfortunately closed; but it is one of the glories of Britain, that no great national scheme can be frustrated by a single loss: the branches on each stem of her noble constitution are numerous as well as healthy;—*Uno avulso, non deficit alter Aureus*: in the present instance, the enlightened views disclosed by sir Samuel Romilly were followed up by sir James Mackintosh; nor could the cause have fallen into abler hands. A petition from the corporation of London, complaining of an increase of crimes, and pointing out the advantages likely to ensue from the commutation of capital punishments for others less vindictive in their nature, was referred to a committee, appointed, on a motion of lord Castlereagh,

CHAP.
LIX.
1819.

for the examination of prison discipline: it was thought, however, by persons best informed and most deeply interested in the business, that, for due consideration of so extensive and important a subject as our penal code, a distinct committee should be formed; and to that effect, sir James Mackintosh made a motion on the following day. After setting forth a variety of observations and facts, illustrating the system of subterfuge, which the extreme severity of our law in many cases had produced among prosecutors, witnesses, and jurors, with the consequent impunity of offenders and increase of crime; he denied any intention of recommending a new criminal code, or of abolishing a system admirable in its principles, and interwoven with the habits of the people: he did not even propose to lay aside capital punishment; on the contrary, he regarded it as a part of that right of self-defence with which societies are endowed: he held it to be, like all other punishments, an evil when unnecessary; but capable, like them, of producing, when sparingly and judiciously inflicted, a preponderance of good: he aimed not at the establishment of any universal principle; his sole object was, that the execution of the law should constitute the majority, and its remission the minority of cases. Sir James subsequently divided the cases connected with capital punishment into three classes; those in which it was always, those in which it was frequently, and those in which it was never put in force: he proposed to leave, at present, the first and second division untouched: the third, comprising no fewer than one hundred and fifty different crimes, ought, he conceived, to be expunged from the list, as a monument of barbarous times, disgraceful to the character of a free and enlightened nation. Lord Castlereagh complimented the mover of this question on the candid and moderate spirit in which he had brought it forward; nevertheless, his lordship persisted in opposing, as unnecessary, the appointment of a separate committee: other members, however, warmly supported the motion, which was ultimately

carried by 147 votes against 128; and before the session closed, the committee, of which sir James was chairman, having examined evidence, reported progress on this interesting subject of inquiry.

CHAP.
LIX.
1819.

A period had now arrived, when it was impossible to defer any longer a consideration of our national currency. In 1793, a transfer of labor from the employments of peace to those of war, caused a great derangement among the productive classes; and to another transition, from a state of war to one of peace, was ascribed by the ruling powers of the day all the distress which occurred in 1816: it is undeniable, that an abrupt diversion of capital from its usual form of employment is always attended with loss, and commonly with distress; but other causes were in operation at the time, which must have produced great distress if the war had continued: the transition from a state of war to peace undoubtedly added to the distress; but was by no means the sole cause of it.

Measures
for resump-
tion of cash
payments.

When, through agricultural depression, country notes were extensively withdrawn from circulation, the Bank of England was urgently pressed for an extended accommodation; and, being relieved from immediate apprehension of having to pay in gold, it materially extended its issues: now, had war continued under these circumstances, it is very likely, that when low prices had taken the superabundance of grain out of the market, they would have advanced; country bank notes might again have been put out to as great an extent as before; the currency might have been even more depreciated than in 1812; and the mint standard of value might, in the end, have been altered: in this way, it is possible that a continuance of the war might have given rise to a measure which would have had a beneficial effect in relieving the people from a part of the burden of fixed money payments: but it was considered that peace rendered preparation necessary for returning, at no distant period, to the old metallic standard of value, and for repealing the bank restriction act: hence, not only did the Bank of England begin to reduce the quantity of its paper

CHAP.
LIX.
1819.

in circulation, and to increase its stock of gold; but country bankers were compelled to limit their issues, since they also would be more liable to be called on to pay in gold: such considerations, no doubt, induced a more cautious issue of notes; and the quantity of the currency was kept down nearly to what it would have been, if the exports had been suffered to draw gold from the commercial world to furnish a metallic currency for Great Britain. The bill, commonly called 'Peel's bill,' passed this year; and it caused such preparation to be made, as removed a depreciation of sixteen and a half per cent. from the currency of 1816, and three or four per cent. from that of 1817 and 1818, and at last restored it to its old standard value: any farther alterations in the value of the currency, and of general money prices, are attributable, not to Peel's bill, but to other causes, which would have had the same powerful influence on the exchangeable value of gold, if that bill had not passed. Peel's bill enacted, that the Bank of England should be liable to pay its notes in gold in 1823; and in the interim to pay them in gold bars at standard value, of not less than sixty ounces weight: but the Bank, having acquired a large stock of gold in 1821, commenced paying in coin on the twenty-first of May that year; and thus terminated the period, during which, under the sanction of law, our currency was depreciated by an excessive issue of paper, which increased its quantity beyond that which would have been determined by the supply of gold. The celebrated bill, however, above alluded to, being one of the most important, and most canvassed, of all that are contained in our statutes, demands a more circumstantial account of the manner in which it was brought forward and carried.

A motion by Mr. Tierney, on the second of February, for a committee to inquire into the effects of the bank restriction act, was met by an amendment from the chancellor of the exchequer, directing an investigation of the state of the Bank of England, with reference to the expediency of its resumption of cash payments at the appointed period; such information to

be reported by the committee as might be disclosed without injury to public interests. The first report was brought up by Mr. Peel on the fifth of April; and it represented, that the bank, having been induced to pay in specie all notes issued previous to 1817, had been drained of cash to the amount of more than £5,000,000; most of which had found its way to the continent, where it had been recoinced; and, that to prevent this drain continuing, and to enable the bank to accumulate a larger store of bullion, with a view to the final resumption of cash payments, it was expedient to restrain farther payment of the notes al-luded to in specie: a bill was accordingly brought in; and the standing orders having been suspended, it was passed through its different stages the same evening. In the course of discussion, Mr. Manning, one of the bank directors, attributed the drain on the bank, and the efflux of our specie, to the French loan, as well as to a deficient harvest; corn having been imported by us to the amount of £10,000,000. In the upper house, lord Harrowby moved a suspension of the standing orders, that the bill might pass through all its stages at one sitting; which earl Grey and others opposed at considerable length; contending, that, if necessary, ministers would have done better by issuing an order of council to suspend bank payments on their own responsibility: next day, however, the bill was read three times, and passed: a similar measure was also carried for the protection of the Bank of Ireland. The second report was presented on the fifth of May; when two bills were passed, founded on a plan recommended by the committee, for a gradual return to cash pay-ments; of which the principal provisions were, that a definite period should be fixed for the termination of the restriction; while preparatory measures should be taken, with a view to facilitate and ensure, on the arrival of that period, payment of promissory notes of the Bank of England in legal coin of the realm; that provision ought to be made for the gradual repayment of £10,000,000; being part of the sum due to the bank on account of advances for the public service;

CHAP.
LIX.
—
1819.

that, from the first of February, 1820, the bank shall be liable to deliver, on demand, gold of standard fineness, having been assayed and stamped at the mint; a quantity of not less than sixty ounces being required in exchange for notes, at the rate of four pounds one shilling per ounce; that, from the first of October, 1820, the bank shall be liable to deliver gold at the rate of three pounds nineteen shillings and sixpence per ounce; and, from the first of May, 1821, at three pounds seventeen shillings and tenpence halfpenny; that the bank may, at any period between the first of February and the first of October, 1820, undertake to deliver gold, as before mentioned, at any rate between the sums of four pounds one shilling, and three pounds nineteen shillings and sixpence per ounce; and at any period between the first of October, 1820, and the first of May, 1821, at any rate between the sums of three pounds nineteen shillings and sixpence, and three pounds seventeen shillings and tenpence halfpenny per ounce; but that, such intermediate rate having been once fixed, it shall not be subsequently increased; that from the first of May, 1823, the bank shall pay its notes on demand in the legal coin of this realm; and that it is expedient to repeal the laws prohibiting the melting or exportation of the coin.

Another select committee was appointed, on the motion of lord Castlereagh, to inquire into the income and expenditure of the country; from which he anticipated a very favorable result. The receipts for the year, ending on the fifth of January, 1818, were £51,665,458, while those for the following year were £54,620,000, showing a large increase on the latter: but there were certain arrears of war duties on malt and property, which reduced the income of 1818 to £49,334,927; while the arrears to January, 1819, amounted only to £566,639: the expenditure was also less by about £650,000 than was expected; so that the result was, as his lordship said, 'a total surplus of £3,558,000, applicable to the reduction of our national debt. If one million were allowed for the interest on the loan, there remained two millions and

a half of surplus revenue.' Mr. Tierney observed, that an old debt on the sinking fund, of £8,300,000, which must be liquidated before the surplus in question could be made available for the expenses of the current year, had been altogether kept out of view: the various taxes, taken together, exceeded £7,000,000; but this was the extreme amount, applicable to the army, the navy, the ordnance, and miscellaneous services: how then could it be possible, he asked, that with an income of only £7,000,000, and an expenditure of £20,000,000, both ends could be made to meet, and a surplus be left? Would it not be a gross delusion, to speak of the sinking fund as applicable to the public service, while government was obliged to borrow £13,000,000 a year to support it? The chancellor of the exchequer observed, that this statement included certain particulars, which could not be admitted in making a fair comparison: by taking the whole charge of the consolidated fund and the sinking fund, it had been shown that our expenditure considerably exceeded our receipts: this must necessarily be the case, after so many of the war taxes had been abolished. Parliament had thought fit to relieve the country from fifteen millions in taxes, and thus unavoidably prevented the effect which would have resulted from a redemption of the debt by these fifteen millions annually: with respect to any plans of finance for the present year, he should reserve to himself the power of adopting that which the situation of public affairs rendered most expedient.

On the thirtieth of March, and again on the twentieth of May, Mr. M. A. Taylor renewed his motions on the subject of delays in chancery. The first of these, which was for an account of the total amount of the property of suitors in 1756, and every tenth year down to 1818, was agreed to. 'Its object (he said) was to show the great increase of business in that court, and to lay a ground for providing means by which the delays so complained of might be remedied.' In his second motion, which was in substance a proposal to separate the jurisdiction in cases of bankruptcy

CHAP.
LIX.
— 1819. —

CHAP.

LIX.

1819.

from the great seal, he eulogised the talents, wisdom, learning, and diligence of lord Eldon, as well as the clearness, precision, and integrity of his judgments; but averred that the duties of the court, as it then subsisted, were too heavy to be discharged even by those great faculties. This change, however, in the jurisdiction of the great seal, was known to be most unpalatable to its holder, and was rejected by a large majority.

Financial
statement.

On the third of June, Mr. Vansittart submitted a series of financial resolutions; which stated, that through the removal of certain taxes, the revenue of Great Britain was reduced by £18,000,000; that the interest and charge of the funded and unfunded debt of Ireland exceeded the whole revenue of that country by £1,800,000; that it was necessary to provide by a loan, or other means, for the service of the present year, the sum of £13,000,000; which, deducted from the sinking fund of £15,000,000, reduced it to only £2,000,000; and that, for the purpose of raising this sinking fund to £5,000,000, it was absolutely necessary to impose new taxes to the amount of £3,000,000 annually: this sum parliament ultimately agreed to raise by a considerable duty on foreign wool, and by smaller duties on other articles, such as tobacco, tea, coffee, and cocoa-nuts. Two loans, of twelve millions each, were also raised; one of them supplied by the monied men, the other derived from the sinking fund: out of these sums there was to be a surplus, of which £5,000,000 were to be applied toward repayment of the debt due to the bank, as recommended by parliament previous to the resumption of cash payments; and £5,597,000 to the reduction of the unfunded debt. In adopting this course, observed the Speaker, in his address to the regent at the close of this session, 'his majesty's faithful commons did not conceal from themselves that they were calling on the nation for a great exertion; but well knowing that honor, character, and independence have at all times been the first and dearest objects of Englishmen, we felt assured that there was no difficulty which the country would not

encounter, no pressure to which she could not cheerfully submit, in order to maintain pure and unimpaired that which has never yet been shaken or sullied—her public credit and good faith.’ After numerous petitions had been presented to parliament, both for and against the claims of Roman catholics, this great question of internal policy was again brought before the commons by Mr. Grattan, on the third of May. The causes of disqualification, he asserted, were of three kinds—the combination of the catholics; the danger of a pretender; and the power of the pope: he insisted, that not only all these causes had ceased, but that the consequences annexed to them were no more; and he concluded by moving for a committee of the whole house, to take into consideration the laws by which oaths or declarations are required to be taken or made as qualifications for the enjoyment of office, or the exercise of civil functions, so far as the same affect Roman catholics; and whether it would be expedient to alter or modify the same. This motion was lost, on a division, by a majority of only two, in a very full house. On the seventeenth, a corresponding proposition was submitted to the peers by the earl of Donoughmore, who contended that the state of the catholic question had been much altered: all anti-christian principles and uncharitable surmises were disallowed by its opponents; and the great objection was limited to an arguable supremacy, which was supposed to be inherent in a foreign state: if he were allowed to go into a committee, he would first get rid of the declaration, and next dispose of the oath of supremacy; when there would remain no vestige of such tests, except the oath of abjuration, now of no practical use, as it referred to a non-existent family. The bishop of Worcester opposed this motion, on the ground of danger to the church and state; which danger, it was argued by the bishop of Norwich, did not exist; and we ought to remember the precept of doing unto others as we would they should do unto us: the bishop of Peterborough declared, that if the present were merely a religious question, it should

CHAP.
LIX.
1819.

have his support; but, it was evident, the grand object of the catholics was political power; while the earl of Liverpool denied that concession would have the effect of allaying animosities in Ireland, or that the interests of the great mass of its people would be promoted by it in the smallest degree: the lord chancellor also strenuously opposed the motion, chiefly for the oft-refuted reason, that the Romanists could give no security by oath, which would reconcile the king's supremacy in things temporal with the pope's supremacy in things ecclesiastical: on a division, the motion was negatived by 147 against 106; and another effort, in favor of this question, was made in the upper house by earl Grey, but without effect. As the reduction of our army, at the termination of the war, left a great number of officers ill provided for, and unemployed, many, and those principally subalterns, went out to aid the common cause of independence in South America: a remonstrance on this account, made by the Spanish ambassador, occasioned the introduction of a bill, by our attorney-general, to prohibit British subjects from enlisting into a foreign service, or equipping vessels of war without license. The first of these objects, he observed, had been in some measure provided for by the statutes of George II. which made it felony to enter into the service of any foreign state: if neutrality, however, was to be observed, it was important that the penalty should be extended to the act of serving unacknowledged as well as acknowledged powers; part of his intention therefore was to amend those statutes, by introducing, after the words 'king, prince, state, potentate,' the words 'colony, or district, which do assume the powers of a government.' Sir James Mackintosh warned the house, that, however this motion might be worded, and its real object concealed, the bill ought to be entitled, 'a bill for preventing British subjects from lending their assistance to the South American cause, or enlisting in the South American service.' He asserted, that the statutes of George II., cited as authority on this occasion, were intended merely for the temporary purpose of pre-

venting the formation of jacobite armies organised in France and Spain, against the peace and tranquillity of England; and he concluded by reprobating a measure, which was virtually an enactment to repress the liberty of the South Americans, and enable Spain to reinpose on them that yoke of tyranny which they were unable to bear; which they had nobly shaken off; and from which, he trusted, they would finally and for ever be enabled to extricate themselves: but lord Castlereagh contended that the proposed bill was necessary, to prevent our giving offence to Spain; whom that house was too just and generous to oppress, because she was weak, and her fortunes had declined. Was not, he asked, the proclamation, which had been issued about eighteen months, approved both in England and America, as perfectly just in the principles of neutrality which it declared? Was it not, he also asked, a breach of that proclamation, when not only individuals, whom perhaps it might have been impossible to restrain; not only officers, in small numbers, went out to join the insurrectionary legions; but when there was a regular organisation of troops; when regiments, regularly formed, left the British shores; when ships of war were fitted out in English ports, and transports chartered to carry thither arms and ammunition? In the subsequent stages of the bill, ministers candidly avowed that this measure had been suggested by the stipulations of a treaty made with Spain in 1814, and by the representations which the ministers of Ferdinand VII. had considered themselves entitled by such stipulations to address to the British government: such an admission excited some severe comments on the character of Ferdinand; the bill, however, was carried; but, though rigorous in its provisions, it was by no means rigorously enforced. An act of grace, which was understood to emanate from the regent himself, for reversing the attainder of lord Edward Fitzgerald, was carried without opposition: the attainder itself, as passed by the Irish parliament, was an instance of contemptible servility to the ruling powers by that corrupt assembly; and the pre-

CHAP.
LIX.

1819.

amble of the present bill stated, that his lordship had never been brought to trial; and that the act of attainder did not pass the Irish parliament till some months after his decease; and that these were sufficient reasons for mitigating the severity of a measure decreed in unhappy and unfortunate times.

Mr. Wilberforce was heard this session, complaining of the reluctance which two great powers had shown towards all arrangements necessary for carrying into effect the total abolition of the slave-trade: it grieved him to cast this reproach on a great and high-minded people like the French; and he was still more hurt to find that America was not free from blame: he trusted, however, that all nations would cordially unite in their endeavors to civilise the inhabitants of Africa; and concluded by moving an address entreating the regent to renew his exertions for the attainment of an object of such general interest: the address was agreed to unanimously; and a similar one was voted in the house of lords, on the motion of lord Lansdowne. The sum of £50,000 was granted, on the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, for the purpose of enabling government to divert the current of emigration from the United States to the Cape of Good Hope, as a colony to which it might be more advantageously directed: it was proposed to pay the expense of the passage, and to supply the emigrant with means of exercising his industry on arriving at the destined spot: a small advance of money was to be made by each settler before his embarkation, to be repaid him in necessaries at the Cape; so that, with the aid of government, he would have the means of subsisting comfortably until he gathered his crops, which, in that climate, were of rapid growth. This session, in which the house of commons had shown very considerable resistance to ministerial dictation, was closed on the thirteenth of July by the regent personally; who in his speech expressed a confident expectation, that the measures which had been adopted for the resumption of cash payments would be productive of the most beneficial consequences: he regretted

the necessity of additional taxation; anticipated many permanent advantages from the efforts which had been made to meet our financial difficulties; and in advert-
ing to the seditious spirit now abroad in our manufac-
turing districts, avowed a firm determination to
employ the powers provided by law for its suppres-
sion.

CHAP.
LIX.
1819.

Ministers, as we have seen, at the opening of the session, indulged only in joyful anticipations of prosper-
ity, without contemplating the political and moral
causes of evil working around them. Though the
amount of government expenditure had greatly de-
creased, the extent of parish relief to the poorer
classes indicated no improvement in their condition:⁴
though the drains made by government were first les-
sened by a cessation or diminution of loans, the effect
of this, in a rise of wages to the same extent, was not
immediately felt: it became necessary, that the amount
of wealth, which had been annually taken by govern-
ment in loans, should be left to be employed as capital,
in competition with the other existing capital; and
that profit should thus be reduced, and wages made
to rise; but this operation required time: it happened
also, that, in taking off taxes, a course was pursued
which gave the least immediate relief to the laboring
part of the community; for instead of those taxes
being dispensed with which pressed immediately on
them, the property tax was repealed; an impost,
which came not out of the pockets of laborers; and
from the repeal of which, relief to them would come
most circuitously, and at the most distant period: but
there are other fixed payments, as well as those made
to government, which the British people had to pay;
such as annuities of various kinds, sums engaged to be
paid by lease for all sorts of houses, warehouses, mills,
&c., compositions for tithes, mortgages, and rents of
lands: as these were now to be exacted in a currency

Causes of
general
distress.

⁴ The amount of government expenditure, in 1813, was £109,054,125, or, allowing for the depreciation of the currency twenty-two and a half per cent., £84,863,697; in 1819, it was only £48,438,396; but in 1813, a sum equivalent to about 1,200,000 quarters of wheat was sufficient for the relief of the poor: while, in 1819, a sum equal to more than 2,000,000 quarters was required.

CHAP.
LIX.
1819.

increased in value by twenty per cent., additional produce to that value would be taken from payers, and given to receivers: in whatever form payment might be made, this would be the effect; every payer would have to part with more goods, by twenty per cent., in order to obtain the money necessary for his payment; and every receiver would, in the money which he received, obtain the power of purchasing and consuming twenty per cent. more of the produce of labor: now as the main body of receivers are of the wealthy and unproductive, and the payers generally of the poorer and productive classes, the former would be gainers, and the latter losers, by this rise of value in the currency: but a restoration of our currency to an undepreciated state was not the only alteration which it underwent at this time: gold was rising, from various causes, in its exchangeable value; and its tendency to flow toward this country was becoming weaker, or rather it began to ebb from it; and if the currency had been intirely of gold at this period, it would have flowed out, until prices had sunk to a much lower level. The existence of paper money, when that paper was made liable to be paid in gold, did not, however, keep up the quantity of currency materially above what it would have been, if constituted of gold alone; as the paper was reduced to the quantity which the gold would have equalled in the absence of the paper; and as gold became scarce, paper was obliged to be taken in, to preserve it at the same level as the gold: hence, as there was a twofold reduction in the value of the currency during the progress of the war, first, from a fall in the exchangeable value of gold, and afterwards, from an excessive issue of paper; so there was now a twofold rise in the currency; first, from a withdrawal of paper to an extent sufficient to remove the depreciation arising from its excessive issue; and afterwards, sufficient to raise its value equal to the rise in the exchangeable value of gold.

At this period, the rise of gold was considered equal to about ten per cent.; when the whole sums of net

wealth, paid by the productive classes, would be increased to that extent; or additional wealth to that amount taken from them.⁵ The total net wealth furnished at this time was estimated at £100,000,000; £50,000,000 to individual annuitants, £50,000,000 to the government; and if the rise in the value of gold, which equalled ten per cent., be added to the increase of twenty per cent. in the value of the currency consequent on the removal of depreciation, the additional wealth taken from the people equalled thirty per cent. on the total sum; that is, £100,000,000 would command commodities equal to £130,000,000 when the currency was at its lowest value; while the benefit obtained by laboring classes arose only from a reduction in the rate of profit, consequent on the repeal of loans, and the cessation of the property tax. Nothing but the increase of population, enabling the people to furnish the required wealth with more ease, prevented still more calamitous effects on their condition from the increased burdens imposed upon them: but, on the other hand, the fall in the selling prices of our exports, occasioned by the extension of manufactures at home, while rival establishments were appearing in other countries,—made it necessary that a larger portion of British labor should be engaged in their production than when they sold at higher prices: less labor was consequently left, to produce annually at home all that mass of wealth, which satisfies the demands of the net claimants, and enables the whole community to subsist.

The foregoing statement, to which many other facts might be added, is perhaps sufficient to account for the condition of the laboring classes not improving immediately after the war. In addition to such general causes of discontent, may be added the coercive measures, necessarily, though perhaps in some cases obnoxious, put in force by government; while the house of commons became more regarded as an instrument subservient to ministerial and aristocratical

⁵ For a certain time, indeed, some of this would be paid by the capitalists; but it would finally be furnished by the laborers.

CHAP.
LIX.
1819.

power, than as a faithful representation of the people: in the mean time, demagogues and low traffickers in infidelity and sedition sought subsistence or notoriety in vile publications, by which the passions of the multitude were inflamed, and their resentment pointed against all ranks above them: the rural population, being more thinly scattered, and more passive by habit and education, was not so easily roused; but the manufacturing laborers in the midland and northern districts, as well as in various parts of Scotland, entered into secret combinations, and called together assemblies, in which deliberative inquiries were acutely made, and daringly avowed, on the subject of actual grievances and natural rights.

Seditious
assem-
blages.

Among these discontented artisans, a party, who denominated themselves radical reformers, began to acquire much influence, from the sedulity with which they propagated the notion, that such a reform of parliament as would make its members truly representatives of the people, would be the surest method of putting an end to present and future sufferings: the most notorious of these demagogues was Henry Hunt, a man without much political knowlege, sagacity, or eloquence; but daring in the cause which he had adopted, and shrewd in the topics and vocabulary of the mob, with an appearance of honesty well calculated to attach them to his person.

One of the first steps of this radical crew, was an application to the magistrates of Manchester, to convoke a meeting for the alleged purpose of petitioning against the corn bill; and in consequence of their refusal, it was summoned by an anonymous advertisement. Hunt, who had been selected as the hero of the day, was conducted, in a kind of triumphal procession, to the place of meeting, where a strong remonstrance to the prince regent was adopted; but the multitude dispersed without tumult or disorder: this example was followed at Glasgow, Leeds, Stockport, and other manufacturing places; but strong measures of precaution taken by local authorities, had, in most instances, the effect of preserving order and tran-

quillity; though there was a marked contrast between the peaceable demeanor of the auditors, and the inflammatory character of the language in which they were addressed. On these occasions, the defect in the representation of the people was pronounced to be the grand source of all evils; for which, annual parliaments, universal suffrage, and election by ballot were pointed out as the only remedies: at one meeting, there was a discussion, whether the people had a right to destroy the Bank of England; and some hints were thrown out respecting the expediency of a division of landed property, and a recurrence to physical force: by some, however, it was contended, that these suggestions, which were attended with no practical results, proceeded from spies; and it is not improbable, that the agents of government, whose duty could not legitimately extend beyond the office of observing and reporting the proceedings which took place, might occasionally exceed their instructions: the most novel and censurable feature in the system, was the formation of female societies for the promotion of reform; which bodies entered into violent resolutions, and called on the wives and daughters of manufacturers to promote such associations, for the purpose of co-operating with the men, and instilling into their children a deep-rooted hatred of tyrannical governors. At Birmingham, where extensive distress among the working classes had given greater currency to these new doctrines, the radicals hazarded a bolder experiment than any which they had before displayed: this was the election of a member, or, as it was termed, a 'legislatorial attorney,' to represent that great and populous town in the house of commons: at a meeting held for this purpose, on the twelfth of July, the managers stated, that the issue of a writ being compulsory, they had not thought it necessary to wait for a mandate; but that, in the exercise of their constitutional rights, and the duty of good subjects, they should proceed to advise the sovereign by their representative. Sir Charles Wolseley, who had previously declared his determination to claim his seat if he should

CHAP.
LIX.
—
1819.

be elected, was put into nomination, and unanimously chosen by an assemblage of 15,000 persons. Ministers and their partisans for a time regarded this proceeding as a matter of jest, instead of seeing in it a practical demonstration, that Birmingham, and some other populous towns, ought to be represented in parliament.

A few days, however, after the reformers had got up this scene, it was resolved, at a meeting in the great unrepresented town of Leeds, that a similar election should take place, as soon as an eligible member could be found: but government at length interfered; the legislatorial attorney of Birmingham was arrested, on account of expressions used at Stockport, in Cheshire; and an itinerant preacher, named Harrison, for a similar offence at the same place, was taken into custody while attending a reform meeting in London: on these charges they were next year convicted, and sentenced to imprisonment.

The Smithfield meeting, at which Harrison was arrested, took place on the twenty-first of July: some degree of alarm was naturally felt by the citizens on such an occasion; and for the purpose of preventing riot and disorder, extensive and judicious precautions were taken both by the government and the police: Hunt was elected to the chair; and several resolutions were carried, to the effect, that as the persons at present composing the house of commons had not been fairly chosen, the meeting could not consider themselves bound in equity by any of their enactments, after the following January. When the officers seized on Harrison, a few voices were heard proposing resistance; when Hunt requested the multitude to let him go quietly:—‘If they apprehend me,’ said he, ‘I am ready with bail, and will try the question: let me subpœna all here present; and then, although they may procure three villains to swear away my life, I shall not be afraid, having 50,000 witnesses to contradict them: if only thirty of you should come day by day, the trial will last for three years!’ The remonstrance to the prince regent, which had been carried at a meeting in Palace-yard on the eighth of

September last year, was again adopted, and numerous speeches followed; in the course of which Hunt stated, that the penny subscription, which had been started to promote the cause of reform, and had been expected to create in one year a fund of £256,000, amounted, at the expiration of ten months, only to four pounds, fourteen shillings, and sixpence. This enormous assemblage finally separated without any rioting or tumult.

CHAP.
LIX.
1819.

On the third night following, an atrocious attempt was made at Stockport to assassinate Birch, the deputy constable for that township, by whose exertions both sir Charles Wolseley and Harrison had been apprehended: vigorous measures for the discovery of the offenders were immediately adopted; and on the thirtieth of July a proclamation was issued against seditious assemblies.

The Manchester reformers, who had announced a meeting to be held on the ninth of August for the election of a representative, as at Birmingham, were informed by the magistrates, that, as the proposed object was unquestionably illegal, they would not be permitted to assemble: in consequence of this determination, the design was relinquished, and notices were issued of a meeting to be held on the sixteenth of August, avowedly for the legal purpose of petitioning in favor of parliamentary reform: an open space in the town, called St. Peter's field, was selected for the assembly; and never on any previous occasion was so great a number of persons known to be present: some hours before the proceedings were to commence, large bodies began to march in from the adjoining towns and villages, forming rows five deep, many of them armed with stout staves, and preserving a kind of military order as well as regularity of step: each company had its own flag and motto; while banners of white silk preceded two clubs of female reformers; the whole numbers collected being estimated at 60,000. A band of special constables, stationed on the ground, disposed themselves so as to form a line of communication from a house where the magistrates were sitting,

Meeting
at Man-
chester.

CHAP.

LIX.

1819.

to the stage or platform erected for Mr. Hunt the chairman, and the orators who intended to harangue the meeting; but soon after the business had been opened, a body of yeomanry cavalry entered the ground at a rapid pace, and advanced with drawn swords toward the stage; while their commanding officer called out to Hunt, who was then speaking, and told him that he was their prisoner. The chairman, after enjoining the people to be tranquil, and offering to surrender himself to any civil officer who should exhibit his warrant, was taken into custody by a constable, and several other persons were also apprehended: some of the yeomanry then cried out, 'Have at their flags!' on which, the troop began to strike down the banners raised in various parts of the field; and a scene of dreadful confusion arose: numbers were trampled under the feet of men and horses; many persons, even females, were cut by sabres; several were killed; and the maimed and wounded amounted to between three and four hundred: in a short time the ground was cleared of its former occupants, and military patrols were stationed in the principal streets of the town to preserve tranquillity.

Great difference of opinion afterwards prevailed on this subject; and perhaps the Manchester meeting is one of those events, the various details of which will never be accurately cleared up: whether the riot act was actually read or not, is a disputed point; the reformers and their friends insisting that it was not, the magistrates and their adherents contending that it was: and certainly, if it was read, the affirmative of the proposition would have been more easily established than its negative: the whole transaction appears not to have extended beyond ten minutes; by which time the field was intirely cleared of the populace, and occupied by different corps of infantry and cavalry. Hunt and his colleagues, after a short examination, were conducted to solitary cells on a charge of high treason: the following day, notices were issued by the magistrates, declaring the practice of military training, alleged to have been carried on secretly for treason-

able purposes, to be illegal: public thanks were by the same authority returned to the officers and men of the respective corps engaged in the attack; and on the arrival in London of a despatch from the local authorities, a cabinet council was held, which, on *ex parte* and interested statements, rather precipitately directed official letters of thanks to be forwarded to the magistrates for their prompt, decisive, and efficient measures; as well as to all the military engaged, for the support and assistance rendered by them to the civil power.

CHAP.
LIX.
1819.

For some days, the town of Manchester and its neighborhood were in a state of constrained tranquillity, although some farther disturbances, in which one or two lives were lost, had taken place. A numerous meeting, at the Crown and Anchor tavern in London, passed a series of resolutions, strongly censuring the conduct of the magistrates, as well as of the military, and returning thanks to Hunt and his colleagues; as also a resolution for raising a subscription to defray the expense of defending the prisoners: in the same spirit, a meeting was held in Smithfield; and a violent letter on the subject was addressed to the electors of Westminster by sir Francis Burdett, for the writing of which he was afterwards tried, and convicted as a libeller.

In pursuance of this letter, an immense multitude assembled within the precincts of Palace-yard on the second of September, for the purpose of declaring an opinion on the conduct of the magistrates and yeomanry of Manchester: after speeches, which occupied three hours in the delivery, by sir Francis Burdett, and Mr. Hobhouse, his colleague in the representation of Westminster, several violent resolutions were adopted, declaring the assemblage at Manchester a lawful meeting; that the outrage then committed was an attempt to destroy by sword the few remaining liberties of Englishmen; and that this was another lamentable consequence of the want of a real representation. An address to the prince regent, founded on these resolutions, was unanimously agreed to.

CHAP.
LIX.

1819.

The circumstances of this case turned out to be such, that government found it expedient to abandon the threatened trial of Hunt and his associates for high treason; and those persons were accordingly informed that they would be prosecuted for a conspiracy only, which was a bailable offence; but Hunt refused to give bail, even, as he said, to the amount of a single farthing: nevertheless he was liberated by some of his friends; and his return from Lancaster to Manchester had the appearance of a triumphal procession; for he was attended by thousands on horse, on foot, and in carriages, who hailed him with shouts of applause, as the assertor of British freedom.

Trial and
conviction
of Hunt,
&c.

True bills were found by the Lancashire grand jury against Hunt, Johnson, Moorhouse, and the other prisoners indicted with them; all of whom availed themselves of their privilege of traversing till the spring assizes of 1820; and instead of Lancaster, the trial took place at York: after ten days' duration, it closed on the tenth of April, when the jury declared Hunt, Johnson, Knight, Healy, and Bamford, guilty of collecting an assembly with unlawful banners, for the purpose of moving and inciting the liege subjects of our sovereign lord the king unto contempt and hatred of the government and constitution of this realm, as by law established, and of attending at the same: in the ensuing term they received sentence; Hunt to be imprisoned in the jail of Ilchester two years and a half, and then to find securities for his good behavior during five years; Johnson, Bamford, and Healy to be imprisoned one year in Lincoln castle, and also to find sureties.

The reformers, notwithstanding the tragical result of their meeting, still ventured to assemble as before at Leeds, Glasgow, and other places: the conduct of the Manchester magistrates and yeomanry became a prominent theme with their orators; ensigns of mourning were exhibited; horrible details were given of the barbarous acts alleged to have been committed; while the sufferers of the sixteenth of August were

eulogised as martyrs, and classed with Russell, Hampden, Sidney, or other illustrious names of ancient times: rarely, however, where the local authorities abstained from interposition, did any breach of the peace ensue; but at Paisley, where the flags of the radicals were seized by the magistrates on their return from the meeting, some riots occurred, which fortunately were quelled without bloodshed.

The regular opposition, or whig party, throughout the kingdom, seized with avidity on the solemn approval which had been given by government, so hastily, to an illegal act of power; and the various meetings convened on this occasion were numerous, and in some instances very respectably attended: a large and dangerous assemblage of the county of York was sanctioned by the presence of earl Fitzwilliam, lord-lieutenant of the west riding, as well as many other whig noblemen and gentlemen, who, having delivered their sentiments in very strong language, adopted a petition to the regent, calling loudly for inquiry; in consequence of which proceedings, the noble earl was dismissed from his high office; since ministers chose rather to be abused by their enemies than despised by their friends. Meetings, however, were held in other places, and petitions drawn up, some calling only for investigation, and others adding strong censure on the administration: the corporation of London, having presented a very energetic address, were severely rebuked by the regent, as prejudging the matter, without having had an opportunity of understanding it; in allusion to which, earl Grey subsequently in the house of peers taxed ministers with having placed in his royal highness's hands 'an impertinent and flip-pant answer,' rebuking the city for prejudging the case, after they themselves had shamefully prejudged it by transmitting thanks so precipitately to the magistrates.

To counteract these meetings, loyal addresses, and offers to raise yeomanry corps, were zealously promoted by the friends of administration; whilst a large veteran battalion, under the auspices of lord Sidmouth, was

CHAP.
LIX.
1819.

formed out of the Chelsea pensioners. Parties at this time became bitterly exasperated against each other; and as persons of property chiefly adhered to the ministerial side of the question, the lower orders began to entertain against their superiors that deeply-seated indignation, which contributed much to the reform of our institutions. 'If the laws were really violated,' said the regent, 'by those whose duty it was to assist in putting them into execution, the tribunals of the country were open to afford redress:'⁶ at Lancaster, however, a grand jury threw out every bill which had been preferred against individuals by the sufferers on the sixteenth of August; whilst, at Manchester, the authorities showed a determination to carry matters with a high hand: no depositions against the yeomanry, or police officers, by those whom they had injured, were received; and the coroner directed verdicts to be returned, on which no judicial proceedings could be founded.

Meeting of
parliament.

Amid the general ferment produced by these commotions, the meeting of parliament was impatiently expected by all parties: it assembled on the twenty-third of November; when the regent, in his opening speech, expressed much regret at the necessity for calling members together so early. After dilating on the seditious spirit and insurrectionary acts of the manufacturing classes, he promised to lay before them all the information requisite to direct them in their deliberations; and pressed on their attention the enactment of such regulations as might tend to suppress the evil. An amendment to the address was moved in the house of lords by earl Grey; in which, while the necessity of checking practices dangerous to the constitution was fully admitted, a strong opinion was expressed of the expediency of conciliation, and of inquiry into the transactions at Manchester, in order to allay feelings to which they had given birth, and to satisfy the people that the lives of his majesty's subjects could not be sacrificed with impunity.

Lord Sidmouth, feeling himself called on officially

⁶ Answer to city address.

to reply, declared, that never before had so much exaggeration, misrepresentation, and falsehood gone forth concerning any public event: the meeting, he would boldly assert, was both illegal and treasonable; the magistrates would have acted not only unwisely, but basely and unjustly, had they done otherwise than they did; the letter of approbation was sanctioned by a cabinet council; and he, for his part, did not shrink from any share of its responsibility: the danger with which we were threatened was generally admitted; and its magnitude should induce their lordships to unite in vigorous measures to avert it: the most alarming feature in that danger was the conduct of some persons, who encouraged the disaffected, by standing between the government assailed and the party assailing it. Lord Eldon also declared, that no such inquiry, as that now demanded, could be granted consistently with the spirit of our law. Considering that proceedings were in progress before the legal tribunals, he was reluctant to deliver an opinion; but when he read in his law-books that numbers constituted force, force terror, and terror illegality, he felt that no man could deny the Manchester meeting to have been an illegal one: he defended the government, and maintained that if the magistrates had erred at all, it was on the side of remissness rather than of undue rigor. The amendment was negatived by 159 votes against 134.

In the house of commons, an amendment was moved by Mr. Tierney, who drew a melancholy picture of the country, affirming that the measures of ministers had brought it to the brink of despair: he also stated, that the cause of parliamentary reform had of late years been working its way among the people; the diffusion of education, sanctioned by parliament itself, had compelled the house to submit to all criticisms on its proceedings, which men felt justified by facts in making; and if government thought, that by passing new laws, raising new troops, or encouraging loyal addresses, they could put down the awakened spirit of the people, they would find themselves grievously mistaken: he then adverted to the Manchester massa-

CHAP.

LIX.

— 1819. —

cre, and urged very strenuously the necessity of inquiry; concluding by some very severe remarks on the dismissal of earl Fitzwilliam. Lord Castlereagh, in reply, declined following the honorable member through his remarks on the state of the country; because the only definite proposition offered, was one for inquiry into the transactions at Manchester; respecting which he should next day lay a mass of information before the house, and explain the measures contemplated by government: his lordship justified the magistrates, and supported the address; which, like that in the lords, was carried by a large majority.

Next day, the promised documents respecting the state of popular feeling were produced: they consisted partly in the correspondence of official persons with the home secretary, and partly in communications made by individuals whose names were suppressed. Letters from the Manchester magistrates, which had been received previously to the sixteenth of August, expressed apprehensions that a formidable insurrection was in contemplation; while they bore testimony to the alarming distress of the manufacturing classes; and assigned hunger as a natural inducement with the poor to adopt pernicious doctrines, as projects for the amelioration of their sufferings. It was stated in numerous depositions, that the practice of secret training prevailed to a great extent among the reformers, but merely with a view of enabling themselves to march in the semblance of military array to their meetings; sticks being the only weapons which had been employed. A communication from lord Fitzwilliam on the state of the west riding of Yorkshire, represented that the last reform meeting on Hunslet-moor had been less numerously attended than previously; and he intimated that the rage for such assemblies might be safely left to die away of itself. Sir John Byng, military commander of the district, stated, that simultaneous meetings were to have been held at many neighboring towns, but the plan had been frustrated by the disunion of the leaders. The distress and discontent reigning in this quarter, where the manufac-

ture of pistols, pikes, and other weapons was reported to be going on very extensively, formed the subject of some communications; and similar representations from the south-west of Scotland, where employment and wages had fallen off still more deplorably, were afforded by others. The grand jury of Cheshire also expressed the alarm which was felt for life and property by the loyal part of his majesty's subjects.

This body of evidence having been submitted to the two houses, ministers proceeded to open their system of defensive measures; and as a preliminary step, the lord chancellor introduced a bill, which he said he had long contemplated. It had been usual with the courts to allow defendants, in cases of information or indictment, to implead or traverse; but as great inconvenience had arisen from this practice, which sometimes delayed trials to a very remote period, and as the ends of justice might thus be defeated, this bill would take away from a defendant the right of traversing; allowing the court, however, to postpone the trial, on his showing sufficient reason for delay. Earl Grey at once entered his protest against all the measures which appeared to be in preparation, as calculated to bring misery, if not ruin, on the country: at the second reading, earl Grosvenor contended, that while the attorney-general was allowed to hold informations over the heads of defendants for an indefinite time, to abolish the right of traverse was greatly enhancing the grievance: lord Erskine also opposed the bill, as depriving the people of a great and important privilege; while the earl of Liverpool contended, that, if their lordships did not pass it, they had better at once declare that every description of sedition and blasphemy should enjoy complete toleration. Lord Holland recommended the equity of legislating on both sides of the question, so as to prevent the delays which occurred in prosecutions on *ex officio* informations, as well as in those of indictment; and, in compliance with this suggestion, the lord chancellor, at the third reading, proposed an additional clause, compelling the attorney-general to bring a defendant to trial within a year,

CHAP.
LIX.

1819.

Restrictions on
public
liberty.

CHAP.
LIX.
1819.

or to enter a *noli prosequi*. The bill, thus amended, passed both houses without farther opposition.

The additional measures for the restriction of public liberty, proposed by lord Sidmouth in the upper, and lord Castlereagh in the lower house, were the following:—‘An act to render the publication of a blasphemous or seditious libel punishable, on a second conviction, at the discretion of the court, by fine, imprisonment, banishment, or transportation; to give power, in cases of a second conviction, to seize the copies of any libel in possession of the publisher; a stamp duty, equal to that paid by newspapers, on all publications containing less than a given number of sheets; with an obligation on all publishers of such pieces to enter into recognisances for the payment of such penalties as might in future be incurred by them.’ The press being thus restrained, seditious meetings were to be controlled by the following provisions:—‘That a requisition for holding any meeting except those regularly called by a sheriff, boroughreeve, or other magistrate, should be signed by seven householders; and that it should be illegal for any persons, not being inhabitants of the place in which such meeting was held, to attend it; also, that magistrates should be empowered, within certain limitations, to appoint the time and place of meeting.’ To repel any danger which might arise from the mustering of an illegal force, it was proposed to prohibit military training, except under the authority of a magistrate or lieutenant of a county; and in the disturbed districts, to give to magistrates a power of seizing any arms believed to be collected for unlawful purposes, and also to apprehend and detain persons so carrying arms. The only one of these bills which passed without opposition, was that for the prevention of secret military training: the bill for the seizure of arms, which, under certain circumstances, and in particular districts, authorised search in private dwellings by day or night, was vehemently resisted both in the upper and lower house; whilst a clause in the act concerning blasphemous and seditious libels, which visited a second

conviction by the punishment of transportation, though it passed the lords, was withdrawn when it came to the commons: but the penalty of banishment, previously unknown to the English law, was now introduced into it: the seditious meeting bill, in its progress, was subjected to a modification, by which all meetings held in a room or building were exempted from its operation; several alterations also were admitted into that which subjected small publications to the newspaper stamp duty. Such were the celebrated 'six acts,' which ultimately passed, and which ministers deemed necessary to coerce the turbulence of an irritated people: despotic and dangerous as their spirit seemed to be, probably nothing less would have been effectual; and, after all, what were they? acts of a free legislature, agreed to by a majority of the people's representatives; provisions, emanating from the most glorious constitution on earth, to preserve that very constitution for posterity! No counteracting violence was here meditated; no naked sword was placed in the hands of a chief magistrate, ordered to prevent the republic from receiving injury by imbruing his weapon in the blood of its citizens; but a few strict and severe enactments were made, to guard, as it were, the majesty of the law; while the reign of that law was still left free and undisturbed as ever.

On the following evening, the marquis of Lansdowne moved for a select committee to inquire into the state of the nation, especially of the disturbed districts, where radicalism, as it was called, prevailed in proportion to existing distress. That distress, he thought, arose from the long war, which gave us the carrying trade of the world; creating a fixed capital, which still existed, and filled the markets, while no vent could be found for their produce: it was also increased by our poor laws, paper currency, and spirit of excessive speculation: adverting to expedients which had been proposed for its alleviation, such as temporary loans to encourage labor, he thought there were two other points of a more extended nature, well worthy of attention; the one was to take off duties from articles

CHAP.
LIX.

1819.

such as tea, the use of which had considerably decreased in various districts, and which were much affected by the smuggling trade; the other was the establishment of favorable commercial treaties, which government had not yet succeeded in accomplishing: he alluded particularly to the timber trade with Norway, which had been neglected, in order to encourage the growth of very inferior wood in Canada; so that Norway was prevented from taking many of our articles of commerce. The marquis Wellesley deprecated all such inquiries, until the passing of the bills necessary to curb that seditious spirit which was so dangerous to our institutions: lord Erskine however thought the existing laws were wholly sufficient for this purpose, and that the country was by no means in so alarming a condition as at the time of the state trials in 1794: he ridiculed the evidence which appeared in the papers lately laid before parliament, with a view to prove a treasonable or seditious meeting at Manchester; and contended that there was nothing illegal in marching to a place of public concourse. Lord Grenville could not be induced to consider the designs of the reformers as originating in distress, which, he hoped, was only temporary: such distress gave facilities to factious men, which they would not otherwise possess; but the root of the evil lay much deeper: the promoters of the new system here, taking the French revolution as their model, had deluged the country with blasphemous publications; and he considered the conduct of the magistrates at Manchester as not only free from blame, but worthy of great applause. The motion was negatived by a large majority.

Unfavorable as the times appeared to be for the discussion of parliamentary reform, lord John Russell was not deterred from calling the attention of the house of commons to our unrepresented towns; many of which had risen to vast importance, while certain boroughs had sunk into decay, and become unfit to enjoy the privilege of sending representatives to the great council of the nation. He brought forward

examples from historical documents, to show that the principle of change had often been acknowledged; the right of suffrage having been withdrawn from and conferred on various places. After a full explanation of his views, he proposed several resolutions in accordance with them, the last being for the disfranchisement of Grampound, the corruption of which borough had been already proved to the house: at the suggestion, however, of lord Castlereagh, who appeared willing to concur in the objects of the motion to a certain degree, lord John now withdrew it, but after a few days brought in a bill for the disfranchisement of Grampound, and the transfer of its elective privileges to some populous town.

Considerable excitement arose in the political circles from the fulfilment of a convention concluded between Great Britain and Turkey; by which the fortress of Parga, which remained after the war under British protection, was ceded nominally to the latter power, but, in fact, to its bitter and deceitful enemy, Ali Pasha; who was, at this very time, and had long been considered a rebel against the Porte. The Parghiotes were the last of the christians in Epirus who had successfully resisted his tyranny: in 1807, after the treaty of Tilsit had given the Ionian isles to Napoleon, they had solicited and obtained a French garrison from Corfu; and in 1814, they had taken the precaution of early placing themselves under British protection. During the command of general Campbell, they enjoyed security, and began to look forward with confidence to its continuance; but under the despotic rule of sir T. Maitland, who, after much intriguing with Ali Pasha, took a different view of the question, they were ordered either to submit to the Albanian despot, or to quit their country for ever: finding their fate inevitable, and knowing the vindictive nature of their foe, they chose the latter alternative, when an estimate was made of their possessions, amounting, on a moderate calculation, to £500,000; but the compensation which sir Thomas Maitland chose to accept in their name, and in opposition to their remonstrances,

Cession of
Parga to
the Turks.

CHAP.
LIX.

1819.

was less than one-third of that sum : when this circumstance, and the harshness with which all the decrees against a brave but unfortunate people, are taken into consideration, it cannot be matter of surprise that the whole continent rang with exclamations against the policy of our government. When it was signified to the miserable Parghiotes that the fated day of their expulsion was arrived, and that numerous forces were near the frontier, ready to enter their territory ; notice was given to the officer conducting the embarkation, that if a single Turk should pass the borders before all had a fair opportunity of quitting their country, they would put to death their wives and children, and defend themselves against any force, British or Turkish, to the last extremity. This was no idle menace ; for the history of modern Greece affords numerous instances of such self-devotion ; and the Parghiotes knew too well with what an insatiable thirst of blood the Albanian tiger was tormented : information of their determination was sent to the lord high commissioner ; and he instantly despatched some British officers to expostulate with the people, who were discovered digging up the bones of their ancestors, and burning or burying them in secret places, to prevent their profanation by the Turks : still it was declared that the meditated sacrifice would be perpetrated, unless the advance of the Albanians, who had already arrived close to the frontier-line, could be stopped ; and means were then found to effect this object. In the mean time, the Glasgow frigate arrived ; and the embarkation commenced, after the whole people had solemnly knelt down to kiss, for the last time, the land which gave them birth, and watered it with their tears : some of them carried away a handful of the soil, to be a solace in misfortune, or a memorial of wrongs endured, which might stimulate their children to the recovery of their country ; others took, for the same purpose, a small portion of those sacred ashes which had been once animated by the spirits of their forefathers. When the bands of Ali Pasha reached the walls, all was solitude and silence : the city, as it has been

observed, received its infidel garrison as Babylon or Palmyra salutes the traveller in the desert: nothing breathed, nothing moved; the houses were desolate; the nation was extinct; the bones of the dead were almost consumed to ashes; while the only sign that living creatures had been there, was the smoke slowly ascending from the funeral piles.⁷

CHAP.
LIX.
1819.

The emperor of Russia, this year, prevailed on many of his nobility to emancipate their vassals: he also ordered his soldiers to be quartered on the peasantry, and directed them to instruct each other in their respective avocations. With so much policy had the Prussian monarch conducted himself in his alliances and treaties, that he obtained a large addition to the number of his subjects: much discontent, however, was excited among the most intelligent part of the Prussian population, from the unwillingness shown by the sovereign to grant the constitution which he had promised; and many were banished or imprisoned for boldly insisting on their civil rights. The Austrian government was this year occupied in domestic arrangements, and in promoting a pacific policy, chiefly with a view to consolidate its dominions and influence in Italy. The states of Germany still continued without their constitutions, though some minor points were conceded to the people. The king of Hanover abolished torture, and convoked a species of parliament; but no person was to be admitted to hear its debates. In Spain, the despotism of the priesthood became intolerable, and as Ferdinand grew more and more bloodthirsty, he executed above fifty officers implicated with the patriotic Lacy in the charge of insurrection: a new ministry was appointed, and the members of the old one sent into exile: on his second marriage, which took place this year, an amnesty was published; but it contained so many exceptions, that, under the mask of moderation, it aggravated the outrageous conduct of the monarch. In the kingdom of the

Continental
politics.

⁷ The reader is referred, for a minute, circumstantial, and, it is hoped, impartial detail of this lamentable transaction, to the author's travels in Sicily, Greece, and Albania, vol. ii.

CHAP.
LIX.

1819.

Netherlands attempts were made to curb the liberty of the press, which exposed to the world much discordant feeling between the two territorial branches of the realm.

At the beginning of this year, a new and popular ministry had been appointed in France, with M. de Cazes at its head, supported by the marshals of Napoleon's creation; yet the ultra-royalists contrived to carry a motion in the house of peers, tending to destroy the freedom of elections: in the chamber of deputies, however, motions of a similar nature were rejected; and to check such attempts in the other house, the king added fifty new names to the peerage: disturbances, supposed to be instigated by ultra-royalists, broke out in various parts of the kingdom.

The greatest interest, however, attached itself to the affairs of the new world: the consolidated republics of Buenos Ayres and Chili were engaged in completing their internal organisation, and in preparing to invade Peru, where the prejudices of education, the errors of ignorance, and the superstitions of priestcraft still attached a strong party to the interests of Old Spain. Lord Cochrane was appointed commander of the Chilian navy; and, as might be expected from the energy of his character, acquired an undisturbed dominion over the South American ocean.

In the provinces bordering on the Caribbean seas, the republican cause obtained more decisive success: Bolivar, the Washington of South America, having marched his troops from the Orinoko, through wildernesses and over mountains, surprised the armies of the royalists in the rich provinces of New Granada, whose capital, Santa Fé Bogotá, hoisted the standard of liberty, proclaiming the union of New Granada with Venezuela, under the general name of Columbia. A republican constitution of these vast territories was afterwards promulgated, and an assembly of representatives opened by a speech from Bolivar, the president and liberator; which, as a manual of political science, may vie with the celebrated document that closed the political career of Washington. Morillo and the armies

from Old Spain, acted, during the latter part of the year, intirely on the defensive: the reinforcements, which had been collected at Cadiz, were put into vessels at that port, but were soon afterwards disembarked on account of a spirit of disaffection which appeared among them; so that the *beloved* Ferdinand had now a certain prospect before him of losing his transatlantic dominions.

Among the few domestic events of this year, the most memorable one is the birth of that princess who now rules over the affectionate and loyal people of Great Britain, on the twenty-fourth of May. The metropolis acquired a considerable addition of ornament and convenience from the opening of the Burlington Arcade, and the noble iron-bridge thrown over the Thames, to form a new communication between the city and the borough of Southwark: in this case, however, as in that of the magnificent bridge of Waterloo, the speculation, which was intirely one of private individuals, turned out a complete failure:⁸ in both instances, it was discovered, that a large majority of the people preferred the indirect expense arising from the loss of an hour's time, and the waste of shoe-leather, to the direct and positive tax of one penny; a fact, from which they whose business it is to tax the nation may take a useful lesson. In this year, Mr. Telford began the construction of that magnificent suspension bridge, which hangs over the Menai Strait; and Mr. Perkins, of Philadelphia, introduced into this country a mode of engraving on softened steel, which, when hardened, will multiply impressions to an almost indefinite extent.

⁸ The £100 shares of the latter, and the £50 shares of the former, were soon to be purchased at the price of about £2 each.

CHAP.

LX.

1820.

CHAPTER LX.

GEORGE IV.—1820.

Death of the duke of Kent, and of George III.—Accession of George IV.—Declaration, &c.—His alarming illness—Message respecting the dissolution of parliament, &c.—Mr. Hume's embarrassing question respecting the queen—The chancellor's speech—Thistlewood's conspiracy—Trial and execution of the conspirators—Popular discontent—Meetings at Huddersfield, Glasgow, &c.—Elections—Meeting of parliament, &c.—Motion respecting the borough of Grampound—Bills for amending our criminal code—Failure of Mr. Brougham's education bill—Motion for a committee on the corn laws carried—Motion for a committee respecting free trade—Civil list and financial statement—Affairs of the queen—Her arrival in England—Proceedings against her in parliament, &c.—Her loss of popularity—Death of the duchess of York—Return of captain Parry from the north seas—Revolutions, &c. in foreign states.

Death of
the duke
of Kent.

THE protracted existence of the venerable monarch who had so long swayed the British sceptre was now drawing to a close: in November, his health underwent a considerable change; and though for a time alarming symptoms were removed, yet a general decay of the constitution ensued, which portended dissolution at no distant period. On the twenty-first of January, died, after a short illness, the duke of Kent; leaving behind him the character of a charitable, humane prince, and an infant daughter, Alexandrina Victoria, who soon became presumptive heiress to the British throne. Eight days had scarcely elapsed, before his venerable father expired, without a struggle, on the twenty-ninth of January, in the eighty-second year of his age, and the sixtieth of his reign: happily for him, he was not, as sometimes happens to those

Death of
George III.

who labor under similar disorders, visited by a ray of returning reason, which would only have served to make him conscious of the desolation of his last moments: yet, though the latter part of his life had been a blank, his people, over whom he so long swayed a sceptre unstained by cruelty or crime, never lost sight of him: their interest had not been wearied by his long seclusion, nor had their love expired in the flood of victories that distinguished the regency: the influence of his character, in preserving this nation from the contagion of French principles, the steady progress which civil and religious liberty had made under his auspices, the desire which he had ever shown to improve the moral and intellectual condition of his people, still lived in their memory, and taught them to feel, when he descended into the grave, that a benefactor and a father had departed.

CHAP.
LX.
—
1820.

The acquisition of the crown by George IV. effected nothing more than a change in the title under which he had long governed the empire. The glories of his regency had eclipsed the splendor of preceding reigns; and his elevation, at an epoch of great national distress, seemed to forebode only a melancholy contrast between the foreign triumphs of his early government and the domestic troubles by which they were soon succeeded: besides, to himself individually the assumption of this new dignity was followed by perplexities of no common magnitude: the results of an ill-judged marriage first alienated from him the affection of his people, who, with natural sympathy for an injured and helpless female, never forgave his original neglect and subsequent hostility toward his consort; but the period of his accession to the throne, when he was induced to extend the limits of that hostility, gave her an opportunity of retaliation, which she did not fail to exercise; and it was left to him to discover—*furens quid femina possit*.

Accession
of George
IV.

The first public act of the new sovereign was to summon a council, at which, the credentials of office, having been surrendered by the officers of the crown, were immediately restored to their former possessors;

CHAP.
LX.
1820.

and all the privy-councillors in attendance being sworn members of the new board, took their places accordingly: his majesty then made a declaration, in which, after having feelingly alluded to the demise of his father, and his own long exercise of the royal prerogative, he observed, 'that nothing but the support which he had received from parliament and the country, in times most eventful, and circumstances most arduous, could inspire him with that confidence which his present situation demanded: he trusted, that experience of the past might satisfy all classes of his people, that it would ever be his anxious endeavor to promote their prosperity and happiness, as well as to maintain unimpaired the religion, laws, and liberties of the kingdom.'

At the humble request of the council, this declaration was made public; and on Monday, the thirty-first, the king was proclaimed, with the usual forms, under the portico of the palace, and afterwards at Charing-cross, Temple-bar, and other stations: on the same day also, the members of parliament were sworn in, when they immediately adjourned to the seventeenth of February: during this recess, however, distressing reports arose concerning his majesty's health, which had suffered, not only from a rapid succession of domestic afflictions, but from personal exposure to inclement weather at his proclamation, which took place before he had completely recovered from a fit of the gout. A severe inflammation of the chest, the same disease which had lately proved fatal to his brother, created alarm among his medical attendants; but the melancholy foreboding, which originated from this seeming fatality, was happily not realised: his majesty was declared out of danger, after little more than a week; but a considerable time elapsed before his health was re-established; so that, when the obsequies of his royal father were celebrated, on the sixteenth of February, at Windsor, amidst a concourse of the great and noble of the land, the highest of them was not present; but the duke of York sustained the character of chief mourner.

According to the principles of our constitution, the demise of the crown is followed by a dissolution of parliament within the next six months: when the two houses therefore assembled, a royal message announced an immediate design of calling a new parliament, and invited them to concur in the necessary arrangements for carrying on the public service during the interval. Loyal addresses, suitable to the occasion, were unanimously voted; and next day ministers obtained a pledge, that the desired measures for the wants of government should be adopted: when the requisite votes of money, however, were proposed in the commons, Mr. Hume took occasion to introduce a very embarrassing subject to their notice: by his majesty's command, in the necessary alteration of the form of prayer for the royal family, the name of her, who was legally become queen-consort, had been omitted; and the honorable member, having taunted ministers with their care to avoid allusion to her case, now desired to know what provision, out of the grant on the civil list, was intended for her support: as princess of Wales, her former allowance had of course ceased on the late king's demise; and he asked, if she, as queen of Great Britain, was to be left to wander in beggary through foreign lands; or whether parliament would make a suitable provision for the maintenance of her dignified station. Lord Castlereagh endeavored to evade this delicate question, and elude an acknowledgement of the queen's title, by assuring the house, that the exalted personage under consideration should suffer no pecuniary difficulties: but Mr. Tierney, in reply, by commenting on the omission of her majesty's name from the liturgy, on the rumours in circulation regarding her, and on the report of a commission sent abroad to collect evidence against her character, strove to force ministers into a direct consideration of the question; concluding by a declaration, that he would not consent to vote one shilling of the public money, until they should either afford some explanation of the charges against her majesty, or pronounce her title in that house.

CHAP.
LX.
—
1820.

This speech was not more embarrassing to administration than to the queen's friends; especially to Mr. Brougham, her legal adviser: accordingly, he endeavored to waive the subject intirely; refusing to admit that her title and right as queen-consort stood in need of any recognition by parliament; seeing nothing to prevent an advance of money to her majesty from the civil list, though her name should not be introduced; and deprecating any allusion to charges of which he knew nothing, but which, if they existed, the house might suppose, from her majesty's previous readiness to meet accusation, that she would not be slow to repel: after renewed attempts therefore by Mr. Tierney and others to provoke farther discussion, the vote was suffered to pass without a division; and when ministers had obtained the requisite authority for continuing the public payments, parliament was dissolved by commission on the twenty-eighth of February. The lord chancellor, in his speech on this occasion, after alluding to his majesty's disappointment in being prevented by indisposition from meeting them personally, for the purpose of expressing his sense of their important services, referred, in vindication of their late enactments, to a flagrant and sanguinary conspiracy which had just been detected, and which was sufficient to open the eyes of the most incredulous to the present dangers of the country.

Cato-street
conspiracy.

The conspiracy thus glanced at was one of the most desperate that could have been conceived by bad men for the worst of purposes; its object being to overturn the government, and involve our national affairs in irremediable confusion, by an assassination of all the cabinet ministers. The chief leader in this diabolical plot was the notorious Arthur Thistlewood, who had once served as a subaltern officer in the West Indies; and, after imbibing republican principles in America, had confirmed them by a residence in France during the worst era of the revolution: as an accomplice of the elder Watson, he had been tried with that demagogue; and on his acquittal, he sent a challenge to lord Sidmouth; for which offence he had been sentenced

to a fine and imprisonment: when liberated, he seems to have cherished a deep-seated thirst of revenge, and to have devoted his whole time to the accomplishment of that purpose; associating with the most depraved among the lowest classes, and gathering round him a number of individuals as desperate and reckless as himself. Of his immediate accomplices, the principal were Ings, a butcher; Davison, a creole; Brunt and Tidd, shoe-makers: these, with a number of other desperadoes, determined, after a series of meetings, that the distress under which they were laboring was no longer to be endured, and that delay was useless: accordingly, they fixed on Wednesday, the twenty-third of February, for the explosion of their design; and on the preceding Sunday made the following arrangements:—forty or fifty of the gang were to devote themselves to the task of assassinating his majesty's ministers, under a pledge of forfeiting their own lives, in case of failure through want of address or resolution; while other detachments were simultaneously to seize on the field-pieces at the Artillery-ground, and at the London Light-horse Station in Gray's Inn-lane: possessed of these, they were to occupy the Mansion-house, as the palace of their provisional government: the bank was to be attacked; and the metropolis to be fired at several points. Similar meetings were held on Monday and Tuesday; on which latter day, an accomplice, named Edwards, assured Thistlewood, that a cabinet dinner would be given on the morrow, at lord Harrowby's house in Grosvenor-square; and all doubts on the subject being removed by the announcement of this entertainment in the public papers, the chief conspirator exultingly observed,—‘As there has not been a dinner for a great length of time, there will no doubt be fourteen or sixteen present; and it will be a rare haul to despatch them altogether.’ Pursuant to the plan of operations, it was agreed, that a single conspirator should go with a note addressed to lord Harrowby; when, the outer door being opened, others should rush in: one party should then proceed to seize and bind the domestics,

CHAP.

LX.

1820.

while another effected an entrance into the room containing the ministers, and perpetrated the horrid massacre; an injunction having been laid on these murderers, that they should bring away the heads of lords Castlereagh and Sidmouth as trophies of their success. From lord Harrowby's mansion, a few of the number were to repair instantly to the barracks in King-street, Portman-square, where, after firing the straw dépôt, they were to co-operate with the rest in executing the other parts of the scheme already detailed: in the mean time, strict watch was kept on the mansion in Grosvenor-square, in order to ascertain whether any of the police or military entered it, or were concealed in its vicinity: the whole day was consumed in preparations; arms and ammunition were provided, and proclamations written, ready to be affixed to those edifices which were devoted to the flames. During this awful period, the infatuated wretches crept toward their place of rendezvous; and by six o'clock all had assembled within a stable situated in an obscure street, called Cato-street, near the Edge-ware-road: this building, which they had lately hired, comprised two upper rooms, with an ascent by a ladder; and in the largest of these, having previously placed a sentinel below, the conspirators were seen, by the glimmering light of one or two small candles, adjusting their accoutrements, and exulting in the speedy prospect of a bloody revenge.

Among the assassins, was a pretended colleague, but in reality a spy; the above-named Edwards, who had for some time been in the pay of government, and had given regular intelligence to his employers of all matters connected with this plot. Every precaution, therefore, was adopted by ministers to lull suspicion: the apparent preparations for lord Harrowby's banquet were continued till eight o'clock in the evening; so that the conspirators might be detected with arms in their hands: to effect this, a party of police, under the direction of Mr. Birnie, the magistrate, proceeded to the place of rendezvous, where it was intended that a detachment of the Coldstream guards should be ready

to support them. About eight o'clock, the constables arrived, before the military; when, having entered the building, and ascended the ladder, they surprised the gang, on the very point of starting to execute their detestable purpose: they were all ordered to surrender; and Smithers, an active police officer, rushing forward to secure the ringleader, was pierced to the heart by his sword, and fell: the lights were then extinguished, and the conflict became general; while some of the gang dashed down the ladder, as the officers grappled with them; and others forced their way out of a window in the back of the loft. At this juncture, captain Frederic Fitzclarence, with a detachment of thirty guards, came up, and secured one of the gang in the act of escaping, who presented a pistol; but its aim was averted by serjeant Legge, whom it wounded in the discharge: the captain then ordered his men to follow him into the stable; but his entrance was opposed by a man of color, who aimed a blow at him with a cutlass, which one of the soldiers warded off by his musket: this ruffian also was secured; when the whole party entered the stable, and mounted the loft, where five more conspirators were captured: but darkness so favored the flight of these wretches, that nine only were taken. Thistlewood effected his escape that night; but, in consequence of a reward of £1000 being offered for his apprehension, he was seized next morning in bed; and some others were apprehended during the two following days: all these prisoners were committed to the Tower.

On the twenty-seventh of March, true bills, on a charge of high treason, were returned against eleven of the conspirators: on the seventeenth of the next month, Thistlewood was arraigned, and, after a trial of three days, condemned, chiefly on the testimony of Adams, one of the party who was allowed to turn king's evidence: Ings, Tidd, Brunt, and Davison also were severally tried and convicted: the other six, being permitted to withdraw their original plea, now confessed their guilt; when five were sentenced to transportation for life; and the sixth, who appeared

CHAP.
LX.
1820.

to have been ignorant of the purpose of the meeting in Cato-street, received a free pardon. The throng of spectators at the execution of the first five criminals was immense; and no little disgust was excited by the horrid spectacle of their mangled and decapitated remains: the time occupied in this business of hanging and mutilation was near an hour and a quarter; during which period, regiments of cavalry lined the adjacent streets; strong bodies of the military being disposed in various parts of the metropolis, as they had been during the trial. It is melancholy to relate that the man of color was the only one of these criminals, who manifested any compunction, or religious penitence for his crimes: Thistlewood and the other three died with great hardihood, glorying in their design, regretting only its failure, and declaring themselves martyrs to the prostituted name of liberty: so odious indeed to the multitude was that melancholy transaction, denominated the 'Manchester massacre,' which at the bar they professed it was their intention to avenge, that many who witnessed the punishment could not refrain from indulging in strong expressions of sympathy for the criminals.

Seditious
meetings.

This was a dreadful but an isolated crime; nor was there any reason for connecting it with the political commotions of the preceding year, and casting such a stigma on the national character; though, no doubt, the general feeling of discontent, now prevalent, was the foundation on which the conspirators expected ultimate success: this discontent, with which the manufacturing districts of the north had been long agitated, broke out during the spring into several overt acts of rebellion, so as to give alarming proofs of the extension of popular frenzy. In the west riding of Yorkshire, midnight training, the collection of fire-arms, and the manufacture of pikes, had continued through the winter; but when the appointed time for a general insurrection arrived, two or three hundred malcontents only had assembled in arms near Huddersfield; and these fled in consternation at the rumored approach of a detachment of cavalry, leaving

behind them a green standard and a number of pikes.

CHAP.
LX.

1820.

In Scotland, the efforts of the disaffected were more alarming: at Glasgow, numbers of artisans, who were desirous of pursuing their avocations apart from the noisy turmoil of political convulsions, had been so repeatedly menaced by the favorers of riot and confusion, that they saw no hope of persevering in a peaceable line of conduct, without compromising the safety of themselves and their families: this panic was still farther increased on Sunday, the second of April, by a treasonable proclamation posted on the city walls, and supposed to emanate from 'the committee for the formation of a provisional government,' recommending the master manufacturers to suspend employment till order should be restored by the organisation alluded to: it farther enjoined all parties to desist from business, and denounced as traitors any who should attempt to resist the projected amelioration of the state. In consequence of this inflammatory placard, the weavers and colliers of Glasgow and Paisley declined to work on Monday; when the example spread through various other branches of trade: several cotton mills, which commenced their usual business, were obliged to desist by threatening visits; and the streets were crowded with loitering artisans, all in a strange state of idleness and expectation of the forthcoming mysterious revolution: as the promoters of it, however, did not appear, many were inclined to ascribe the whole to political *espionnage*; especially as the people then congregated made no attempt to disturb the public tranquillity; seeming to be actuated more by motives of curiosity, and dread of secret agitators, than by any revolutionary zeal or desire of change.

Resistance however to authority did show itself on one occasion; when a private of the Stirling yeomanry, proceeding from Kilsyth to Falkirk, fell in with a radical crew, who demanded his arms: refusing, however, to surrender them, and escaping several shots, he returned to his former quarters at Kilsyth; whence the commanding officer immediately detached a party

CHAP.
IX.
1820.

of cavalry to scour the road, and clear it of insurgents: these in the mean time had been considerably reinforced; and, having found arms as well as food in the neighboring houses, posted themselves advantageously on a rising ground at Bonnymuir; though they subsequently abandoned it on the approach of the cavalry, and sought the protection of a wall: behind this, they opened a fire on their assailants, from whose charge they were also defended by the boggy nature of the ground: hence the soldiers were obliged to make a circuitous approach to a gap, where readier means of access appeared; which movement being perceived by the others, they ran in haste to dispute the passage, but the greater part hurried off to their respective homes; while of those who made a show of resistance, many were severely wounded, and nineteen captured. The majority of those implicated in this petty insurrection had arrived that morning from Glasgow, expecting to find a large multitude of associates, drawn according to a preconcerted plan from the neighboring districts: their intention, as it appeared, was to seize on the Carron iron-works; equip themselves there with arms, especially with artillery; and thence institute a regular plan of operations: but the judicious arrangements of the magistrates, aided by the military, intirely frustrated their combinations; so that, instead of the four or five thousand expected to muster at Bonnymuir, not a hundred came: all open rebellion, therefore, was crushed; in a few days, the storm passed over; and tranquillity succeeded to this political commotion. A special commission being appointed to try the offenders, numerous convictions took place; but the royal clemency was extended to all except three persons, one of them long known as a promoter of sedition, and the other two captured in open conflict with the cavalry: the behavior of these delinquents at their execution differed much from that of Thistlewood and his coadjutors; for they exhibited a deep contrition for their political guilt, and were sensibly affected by religious feelings.

Meanwhile, the elections, though in many cases

marked by strong party contests, proceeded without any acts of outrageous violence: the opposition gained a very slight accession to its numbers, and the new parliament appeared likely to take the complexion of that which preceded it. On the twenty-first of April, its members began to assemble, and were occupied in taking the requisite oaths till the twenty-third; on which day, Mr. Manners Sutton was unanimously re-chosen speaker: on the twenty-seventh, his majesty opened the first session in person, declaring, in his speech, that he should follow his father's example in solicitude for the welfare of the nation; that economy should be observed in the public expenditure; and that the regal dignity should be supported without any additional burdens on the people: he expressed a determination to maintain public peace and tranquillity; lamented the pressure of distress, aggravated as it was by a spirit of sedition; and concluded with a hope, that the misguided multitude might be brought back to a proper sense of their errors. The king appeared on this occasion in good spirits, though not in strong health: the crowds assembled were unprecedented; and he was loudly cheered, both in his progress to the house, and on his return: but the most anxious period of his reign was fast approaching.

CHAP.
LX.

1820.

Meeting of
new parliament.

One of the first acts of the legislature referred to a subject of vital importance to the constitution: proof having been established of the venality and corruption prevailing in Grampound, lord John Russell had brought forward a bill last session for the purpose of disfranchising that borough, and transferring its elective privilege to Leeds: he now resumed the prosecution of this measure; and all necessary preliminaries being adjusted, a second reading was moved on the nineteenth of May. Though scarcely any opposition manifested itself against the merited punishment of a disreputable borough, in which, as one of its corporate body observed, by way of palliation, 'there might perhaps be two or three voters who had taken no bribes;' yet, with regard to the disposal of its elective privileges, much conflict of opinion arose: but before

CHAP.
LX.
1820.

the house could arrive at any decision on the subject, eventful circumstances occurred, which completely engrossed its attention, and annihilated, as it were, all other interest.

The noble mover of the bill, however, feeling secure that this vile borough would no longer disgrace the representation of the country, triumphantly exclaimed: — ‘Alas, the glory of Grampound is gone for ever! the electors will no more have the pleasure of witnessing an honorable baronet sending, from pure motives of charity, confidential agents to relieve their distresses, and minister to their wants: no more shall they be delighted with the gratifying spectacle of the merchants of London contending for the honor of representing them in parliament: never again shall they have the satisfaction of almost murdering those who had the hardihood to propound to them the bribery oath.’ This mock lamentation was cheered by all the friends of reform, and hailed as a favorable omen of the general sense of the house on the subject.

At this period, sir James Mackintosh, who had already devoted much of his time and profound knowledge of jurisprudence to the renewed plan for amending our criminal code, moved for leave to bring in six bills, founded on the suggestions of the committee appointed to consider that important subject last session. Three out of these six, after much and lengthened discussion, especially in the upper house, finally passed into laws: the first was, to repeal the act, by which private stealing in shops, to the value of forty shillings, was made punishable by death; but, on the suggestion of the lord chancellor, that penalty was retained against those who should so steal to an amount exceeding ten pounds: the second went to repeal certain acts, which visited with capital punishment a class of actions which could hardly be considered as constituting moral guilt: by these, it had been rendered a capital crime for an Egyptian to remain one year within the realm; so also for notorious thieves to reside in Cumberland or Northumberland; and for any one to be found disguised in the Mint, or injuring

Westminster-bridge: the third bill repealed various clauses in certain acts, which constituted the offences specified in them capital; and which, by this amended act, would be converted from capital into simple felonies. Of the offences thus modified, were the taking away any maid, wife, or widow, for the sake of her fortune; the receiving of stolen goods; the destroying of trees, breaking down banks of rivers, or wounding cattle; the sending of threatening letters; and all capital offences created by the marriage act and laws of bankruptcy: to these several crimes, differing as they did in consequence, was attached, as the law yet stood, the indiscriminate penalty of death: this, however, with certain exceptions in special cases, was now altered to transportation, imprisonment, or hard labor, within the discretionary powers of the court: thus, the statute-book of England was purified from many grievous stains; several gross anomalies, offensive both to reason and to justice, were rectified; and unfading wreaths of civic glory adorn the busts of Romilly and Mackintosh. A bill for amending the marriage act, by giving validity retrospectively, in certain cases of hardship, to marriages invalid by the existing law, was read a second time in the lords, but was successfully resisted, on the motion made for its re-commitment; chiefly through the arguments of the lord chancellor.

CHAP.
LX.
1820.

Mr. Brougham, having rendered an important service to his country by efforts to establish a system for detecting and remedying abuses in charitable funds and establishments, now brought forward his celebrated plan for the education of the poor: but this subject, embracing so much to interest the feelings of society, and opening so large a field for discussion, was not destined to obtain the concurrence of parties: though the object in view was generally admitted to be desirable, many were the obstacles in the way of its accomplishment, when almost every class of men had some objection to offer: the main difficulty, however, and that which is thought principally to have determined its author to abandon it, arose from the

Education
bill of Mr.
Brougham.

CHAP.
LX.

1820.

dissenters; to whom it appeared, that some enactments of the bill originated in imperfect information respecting that class of persons; and they thought it strange, that a liberal statesman should have paid so little regard, not only to their numbers, property, and intelligence, but to their moral and religious character, as to subject the whole matter to the management of the established clergy: the progress of this measure was watched assiduously by the committee of the Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty, which also sent a deputation to confer with its author on those clauses which were thought objectionable; and the consequence was, that the bill, after having been read for the first time on the eleventh of July, was altogether abandoned. This failure, however, had no effect in damping Mr. Brougham's ardor in the cause of education: on the contrary, it served rather to give additional zeal to his endeavors in promoting the same benevolent object by other and better digested methods.

Another resolution of importance, moved by Mr. Holme Sumner, was for a select committee to take into consideration the agricultural state of the country: the table of the house was loaded with petitions from all quarters, complaining of distress on this score; and their general prayer was for additional restrictions: previous efforts to maintain prices at an unnatural height had all failed; the depression in the value of produce still continued; and the general cry of the agriculturists, eager to avert from themselves an evil which was in fact inevitable, was now for a high permanent duty in place of a limited prohibition: such views, however, were not entertained with similar complacency by the classes engaged in manufactures and commerce; who, feeling equally the pressure of the times, anticipated no alleviation, but rather increased suffering, from any measure, however plausible, which tended to raise the price of corn.

Debates resulting from this motion of the honorable member for Surrey occupied much time and attention: it was seconded by Mr. Western, and supported by

Mr. Gooch, both county members, who repeated the statement, that without protection our agriculturists were unable to compete with foreign growers; that the act of 1815 had afforded them little or no such protection; and that some measures more effectual were indispensable, though the speakers themselves declined to suggest them. Mr. F. Robinson, then president of the board of trade, deprecated the motion, as tending to excite hopes which could not be fulfilled: he ridiculed the absurdity of imagining, that any acts of legislation could alter the depression, while not even the prohibition of imports had been able to raise prices to the protected level; and he blamed the unreasonable spirit and latent objects of the agriculturists, who, in declining to name a specific remedy, had either none to suggest, or only the monstrous proposition, which had been already broached, of a permanent duty of forty shillings: he was followed in the debate by Messrs. Baring and Ricardo; the latter of whom, celebrated for his profound knowledge of political economy, entered into a luminous exposition of the principles of that science, condemning all restrictions on the freedom of the corn trade as injurious in their tendency.

After a lengthened discussion, however, the party belonging to the landed interest in the house prevailed, and the motion for a committee was carried; but next evening ministers collected all their forces, and succeeded in neutralising its effect, by proposing that its inquiries should be limited to the best mode of ascertaining the weekly average of corn prices: this indeed was denounced by the other party as a bare-faced trick to annul the vote of the preceding night; but it passed by a large majority, and every material alteration of the corn laws was deferred for a season. To all that were disinterested on the subject, it seemed, that no immediate remedy for existing evils could be devised; and that the only hope in this general distress must arise from the lenient hand of time, and continuance of peace; when a perseverance in rigid economy and careful retrenchment might authorise a gradual dimi-

CHAP.
LX.
1820.

nution of taxation, and an increase of foreign demand might carry off our abundant supplies of merchandise: indeed, a commercial question of still greater importance than that which had lately occupied the house, was at this period introduced by petitions from the cities of London and Glasgow, in favor of free trade. The comparative stagnation of foreign commerce since the peace, and the desire of giving a new impulse to its activity at any risks, had occasioned a general repugnance among mercantile men to that system of international restrictions, under which our trade had formerly been supposed to flourish with extraordinary vigor: the general advantages of unrestricted commerce had for some time been recognised by political economists; but the doctrine was little relished by British merchants, so long as this country, by her maritime superiority during seasons of war, had enjoyed a monopoly: it appeared also, notwithstanding many strong arguments based on abstract and philosophical principles, to be a doubtful point, which could be resolved only by experience, whether a state, so favored by maritime position and superior enterprise as to have gained the carrying-trade of the world, can profit by admitting others to a participation of its advantages; more especially, when the exertions of that state, which has acquired such a superiority, are clogged by financial difficulties, from which its rivals are comparatively free: whatever weight may be due to these considerations, it is certain, that at this time the opposite opinions had gained hold extensively, not only on political economists, but on mercantile men themselves; and that they were not discouraged by the leading members of administration.

The petition of the London merchants was presented to the house of commons by Mr. A. Baring, one of the most eminent men of their community both for wealth and intelligence, who prefaced it with an able and well-digested speech; the main scope of which was to impress on the house the doctrine, that freedom from restriction is calculated to give the utmost extension to foreign trade, as well as the best direction to capital

and industry; while the maxim, of buying in the cheapest market and selling in the dearest, which regulates an individual merchant, is strictly applicable, as the best rule, to the trade of the whole nation: no formal motion, however, on the subject was entertained by the commons during this session; but in the house of lords the propriety of a change in our commercial policy was formally suggested by lord Lansdowne on the twenty-sixth of May. After an able speech, the leading principles of which were directed to the abolition of all duties absolutely prohibitory, to a relaxation of our navigation laws, to the cultivation of trade with France, and to the opening of East Indian monopoly,—he concluded by moving for a select committee of inquiry on the means of extending and securing the foreign trade of this country.

This proposal elicited a remarkable speech from the earl of Liverpool, in which his lordship, as head of the administration, gave assent to the principles of free trade; expressing his belief, that it would have been better for the world if those principles had always been acted on; and advising the recognition of such exceptions only, as the actual policy of the world and existing laws of this country dictated: for instance, he defended the continuance of protection to the British growers of corn, as well as to persons engaged in the silk trade: the peculiar situation of Ireland also, in his opinion, demanded hesitation before duties were removed from foreign linen, by which the chief manufacture of that island was protected: but, with a general caution on these and some other details, he gave his cordial assent to the proposal for a committee; and the motion was unanimously carried.

The civil list, after the rejection of a motion for inquiry made by lord John Russell, was settled at £1,057,000; and on the nineteenth of June the chancellor of the exchequer produced his financial statement. In the army estimates there was an increase of £804,000, owing to the augmentation of force required by the peculiar state of the country: the estimate also of naval expenditure went beyond that

CHAP.

LX.

1820.

of the preceding year by £150,000, being calculated at £5,586,000; while the sum total for the service of the year, including the interest of the debt, was estimated at £50,500,000. The ways and means proposed to meet this enormous expenditure, were, exclusive of permanent revenues, a continuation of the customary annual taxes, amounting to £3,000,000 sterling; the sum of £2,500,000, from the produce of temporary excise duties, which had remained in force since the war; £240,000 arising from the lottery; £260,000 from old naval stores; exchequer bills for £7,000,000, to be funded; and £12,000,000, taken from that sacred depository, the sinking fund.

Affairs of
the queen.

All questions, however, financial, commercial, or political, were at this period interrupted by the arrival of queen Caroline from Italy, whither she had retired from persecution by the advice of Mr. Canning, in 1814. The whole cabinet, as well as the king, was thrown into consternation by this event; all preparations which had been made for his majesty's coronation were deferred; and the public mind soon became engaged by one exciting and engrossing topic, the mutual declaration of war between George IV. and his consort: it is necessary, however, to a right understanding of this contest, that some previous movements should be detailed.

While the high personage in question was occupied in travelling, her name seldom appeared before the public, except in casual extracts from some foreign journals: but though the multitude seemed to be regardless almost of her existence, subsequent disclosures showed that the conduct of her royal highness had been strictly scrutinised, and inquiries instituted, in order to ascertain, if possible, what credit was due to reports, which, if true, would fix the most degrading stigma on her character; since she was charged with no less an offence, than that of living in open adultery with an Italian courier, named Bergami, whom she had raised from that low station to the first office in her household. Accordingly, our government thought proper to send commissioners to several German and

Italian states, for the purpose of collecting evidence respecting this conduct; but their reports were not divulged; nor were any measures of publicity adopted, arising out of information thus obtained.

CHAP.
LX.
1820.

In consequence, however, of such movements, it is supposed that Mr. Brougham, the princess's legal and confidential adviser, made a proposal, in June, 1819, to lord Liverpool, that the income of £35,000 per annum, at that time enjoyed by her royal highness, but which was to expire on the demise of George III., should be secured to her for life, provided she consented to reside constantly abroad, without ever assuming the rank and title of queen: this singular proposition was stated at the time to be made without the authority, or even knowledge of the princess; but the reply from government signified, that no indisposition would be felt, at the proper season, to give due attention to its terms, provided they received the sanction of her royal highness. Thus the negotiation terminated for the present: but when, by the accession of George IV., his consort became *de facto* queen of Great Britain, it then seemed necessary, that some line of conduct should be taken regarding her, which might prevent disclosures that were on all accounts to be deprecated: a compromise, therefore, founded on Mr. Brougham's former proposal, was submitted to that gentleman, to be transmitted to the princess; and in lieu of £35,000, it was now proposed that she should receive £50,000 per annum, on condition of her renouncing the royal title, and residing permanently out of the realm: by some fatality, however, the document containing this proposal was never communicated to the principal party concerned; while the great distance which separated Mr. Brougham from his illustrious client offered an insuperable bar to that prompt despatch which was desirable on so important an occasion. The queen, who had been making an excursion into the French dominions, returned to Tuscany in the beginning of February, 1820; at which period no official intelligence had reached her of the death of George III.; so that she

CHAP.
LX.
1820.

became apprised of that event only by the public journals, which also indicated the omission of her name in the liturgy: toward the end of the same month, she visited Rome, where she immediately assumed her royal title, and demanded a guard of honor from the papal government: in reply to which requisition, cardinal Gonsalvi stated, that having received no official communication on this subject from the king or his ministers, his holiness did not know that the queen of England was in Rome, and consequently could not grant her a guard of honor.

Incensed by this answer, her majesty drew up a narrative, dated March 16, describing the various insults she had received from foreign courts, particularly from that of Vienna, and the representatives of the court of Hanover; by which she had been driven to the necessity of selling her villa on the lake of Como, and taking refuge in the Roman territory: she also stated, that she had written to lords Liverpool and Castlereagh, demanding that her name should be inserted in the liturgy, and orders given to British ambassadors, ministers, and consuls, to receive and acknowledge her as queen; also that a palace should be prepared for her in England, her real home, to which she intended immediately to repair: 'I have dismissed,' she said, 'my Italian court, retaining only a sufficient number of persons to conduct me to England; and if Buckingham-house, Marlborough-house, or any other palace is refused me, I shall take a house in the country, till my friends can find one for me in London.' This document, together with her letter to lord Liverpool, appeared in the English newspapers about the middle of April, and their extensive circulation excited a general notion that the queen was rapidly proceeding toward this country: various reasons, however, concurred, which induced her to prolong her sojourn at Rome; so that she did not arrive at Geneva till the ninth of May; whence she despatched a letter to Mr. Brougham, requiring his attendance, either there or at one of the French sea-ports. In consequence of this communication, a consultation was held

by Messrs. Brougham and Denman, aided by other friends of the queen; the result of which was a humble request, that her majesty would, without loss of time, repair to Calais, where there was a ready communication with the shores of England; it being at that juncture impossible to foretell how often it might be necessary for the queen's law officers to have access to, and consult her, respecting her views or wishes.

Pursuant to such advice, her majesty quitted Geneva, directing Mr. Brougham to meet her, on the thirtieth of May, at St. Omers; but during her route thither, she was joined by lady Anne Hamilton, who had formerly belonged to her household; and by alderman Wood, one of the representatives of the city of London, who at this time was a great favorite with the working classes and lower orders of people. It appeared afterwards, that, from the time of her quitting Great Britain, she had been in correspondence with this gentleman; and his advice, proceeding from a conviction that the rumors against her were unfounded, and that her presence would occasion the greatest possible embarrassment to government, was, that she should come at once to England. 'He knew,' says Mr. Cobbett, 'the disposition of the people with regard to her and with regard to her husband; and her return was most anxiously desired by every friend of popular rights.'¹

Her majesty's movements, which, prior to the appearance of these friends on the scene, had been marked by tardiness and vacillation, now became rapid and determined: on the twentieth, she arrived at Villeneuve le Roi; whence she wrote a letter full of angry denunciation to the duke of York, another to lord Liverpool, declaratory of her intention to be in London within five days, reiterating also her demand of a palace; and a third to lord Melville, as head of the admiralty, desiring that a royal yacht might be ready at Calais to convey her to the British shores. This promptitude showed that her majesty viewed her situation in an altered light; for the day on which she

¹ History of George IV. § 423.

CHAP.

LX.

1820.

now fixed for her entry into London, was the very next to that on which Mr. Brougham could, by any possibility, meet her, according to her appointment, at St. Omers: that gentleman, however, accompanied by lord Hutchinson, a personal friend of the king, who was entrusted with a confidential communication, sent forward a courier to the place of rendezvous, and arrived himself on the third of June: here, however, an intricate, and as yet unravelled piece of diplomacy, disturbed all arrangements: ministers, having determined, from the evidence in their possession, that the queen never could be received in England with the honors due to royalty, and being anxious to avert the necessity of laying that evidence before the public eye, indulged to the last moment a hope that she would agree to the terms of remaining abroad, rather than risk the consequence of such a disclosure.

The communication which Mr. Brougham had been directed to submit to her majesty on this subject in April, was understood by them as forming the basis of his negotiation, whenever he might have a personal interview with her; and the task which lord Hutchinson had undertaken was considered as wholly unnecessary in the event of a successful issue to the proposition of the queen's own advocate: all his lordship had to do, was, in the extreme case of a rejection by the queen of the ministerial overtures, to present himself before her majesty, in virtue of his relations of friendly confidence both with herself and the king; to impress on her mind the important resolve which government had felt itself compelled to make; and to convince her, that no other alternative remained, if she persisted in her resolution of landing in Great Britain, than to exhibit against her a public charge of adultery. All hopes however of success in this arrangement were frustrated by the immediate introduction of lord Hutchinson to her majesty, who was informed by Mr. Brougham, that his lordship was entrusted with a message to her from the king: his situation at this interview was peculiarly embarrassing; and though it lasted a considerable time, no

conversation arose except on topics foreign to its purpose: her majesty could hardly be expected to begin such a subject, and his lordship could not allude to it himself; since his commission was not to commence, until a complete failure of Mr. Brougham's negotiations should render it necessary. After this, a correspondence took place; and the queen demanded, through Mr. Brougham, that lord Hutchinson should instantly submit his proposition in writing: but his lordship, in reply, stated, that he had only with him some scattered memoranda on scraps of paper, and intimated a wish of communicating his message verbally: the queen, however, in her answer, expressed much surprise that he was not ready to state the terms of a proposition of which he was the bearer; and, to give him an opportunity of arranging them, declared she would wait till five o'clock in the evening: a few minutes before that time, his lordship made his inauspicious attempt at mediation in a letter, the principal terms of which were, that ministers proposed to settle £50,000 per annum on her majesty for life, subject to such conditions as the king might impose: those conditions, he had reason to know, were, that she was not to assume the style and title of queen of Great Britain, or any other title attached to the royal family of England; also that she was not to reside in England, or even to visit that country: the consequence of such visit would be an immediate message to parliament, and an end put to all compromise or negotiation: to this letter, which concluded with the writer's earnest supplication that her majesty would take the proposition it contained into calm consideration, and not misinterpret the advice of one who could have no motive in giving her fallacious counsel,—an answer was instantly returned, indignantly rejecting the proposal, as one that could not be listened to for a moment. Lord Hutchinson, who appears to have been wholly unprepared for so peremptory a refusal, attempted to renew the negotiation by a note to Mr. Brougham, intimating his desire of sending a courier to England for new instructions;

CHAP.
LX.
—
1820.

and proposing to become the medium, through which any offer might be conveyed to government: but her majesty, having discharged her foreign suite, including her chamberlain and supposed paramour, had left St. Omers before this note arrived: so abruptly indeed had she quitted the hotel, that Mr. Brougham himself was scarcely sensible of her leaving the apartment, till he beheld her rapidly passing by in a carriage, with alderman Wood and lady Anne Hamilton. Arriving at Calais about half-past ten at night, she proceeded, without waiting for her carriages, to the pier; and, though the tide was out, insisted on being put on board the packet immediately: this extreme haste she ascribed to her fear of the French government, and the influence which her husband was known to possess with the heads of it. Lord Hutchinson's last note, despatched after her by Mr. Brougham, found her majesty on board; but neither its terms, nor his added supplication, could induce her to change her purpose: irritated by studied insults abroad, incensed by threats of ministerial vengeance, brooding over the treatment she had met with at her husband's hands, and, above all, assured of that popular support which she expected would carry her through all difficulties or dangers, this infuriated woman reached the shores of England on the sixth of June. Neither the king nor his ministers contemplated her arrival: no orders had been sent to Dover; and the commandant received her with a royal salute, while the multitude met her on the beach with acclamations, banners, and every sign of popular enthusiasm. Her progress to London was like a triumphal procession; and at the metropolis, at least 200,000 persons, receiving her with shouts of joy, would have conducted her at once to Carlton-house, had she not been induced to go to Mr. Wood's mansion in South Audley-street; where she exhibited herself and the alderman to the gaze of the assembled multitude. It was not that the great body of the people believed her wholly innocent of the charges brought against her; 'but,' says one who well knew their feelings, 'they, in their sense of justice, went back to the

Arrival of
the queen.

time when she was in fact turned out of her husband's house, with a child in her arms, without blame of any sort having been imputed to her: they compared what they had *heard* of the wife with what they had *seen* of the husband; and they came to their determination accordingly: as far as related to the question of guilt or innocence, they cared not a straw; but they took a large view of the matter; they went over her whole history; they determined that she had been wronged, and they resolved to uphold her.²

The queen's arrival at Calais, on her road to England, had been communicated to ministers by telegraph; and their deliberations in council were held during several hours of the night, as well as the whole morning of the sixth of June: the result was, that the king was obliged to take the field against a woman, whose

unconquerable will
And study of revenge, immortal hate,
And courage never to submit or yield,

interested the feelings of the people in her favor; while the distress of the times and the arts of designing demagogues engaged on her side all that base portion of the populace, which is the chief instrument of confusion.

As parliament was now sitting, his majesty took the opportunity of going in state to the house of lords, that he might give his royal assent to some bills; and when he had left the house, lord Liverpool brought down a message, to be read from the woolsack, with a communication of certain papers relative to the conduct of her majesty since her departure from the kingdom, which he recommended to the immediate and serious attention of their lordships. The papers referred to were laid on the table, under seal, in a green bag; a similar message, with a sealed bag, being pre-

CHAP.
LX.
1820.

Message
respecting
the queen.

² Cobbett's History of George IV. § 425. Thus, with regard to the omission of her name in the Liturgy, when it was said, that she was included in the general prayer, her counsel, Mr. Denman, strikingly remarked, 'that if it was included in any general prayer, it was in that for 'all who are desolate and oppressed.'

CHAP.
I.X.
1820.

sented to the house of commons by lord Castlereagh: and both ministers announced their intention of moving for an address to the king, and a reference of the papers to a secret committee, on the following day: the notification of lord Liverpool provoked no discussion among the peers; but Mr. Grey Bennet, and several other members of opposition in the commons, expressed themselves on the subject in terms of great asperity.

The proceedings of both houses on the seventh were regarded with deep interest: lord Liverpool, having moved a ceremonial address, containing no pledge or opinion, proposed that the papers on the table should be submitted to a secret committee of fifteen peers, to be appointed by ballot; having for its object to inquire whether any and what course of proceeding, should be adopted. The address was agreed to without opposition, and the secret committee formed on the following day; when lords Erskine and Lansdowne, being among the members appointed, thought proper to withdraw their names.

In the house of commons there was much more excitement: when the time came for taking the king's message into consideration, the minister was anticipated by Mr. Brougham; who presented a communication from her majesty, setting forth that she had returned to England for the purpose of maintaining her innocence and rights; protesting against any secret tribunal appointed by her accusers; complaining of insults which she had received from foreign courts influenced by that of Great Britain, as well as from our ambassadors, and other diplomatic agents; and concluding with an appeal to the justice of the commons of England. After this document had been read, and the cheers with which it was received had subsided, lord Castlereagh rose, and declared that ministers were neither persecutors nor prosecutors; that the king's communication was most gracious; that the secret committee was only a preliminary step to ascertain whether there was any case to proceed with; and that the conduct of an illustrious personage

should not be judged without open inquiry and evidence. The appointment of the committee was strongly resisted by Mr. Brougham; since he contended, that although not final, it must deeply affect her majesty's character; and he proceeded to a minute examination of the proposals made to her through lord Hutchinson, which he reprobated in the severest terms. Mr. Canning replied to this accusation, and vindicated the course taken by ministers; declaring that they had interposed every possible expedient to prevent the present calamity; and, alluding to the propositions originating with Mr. Brougham in 1819, he declared fearlessly, that there was not one of the terms offered to her majesty, which had not its prototype in the suggestions then made to government for the guidance of its conduct: toward the conclusion of his speech, he lamented the failure of negotiations at St. Omers, though he attached no blame to the conduct of the honorable gentleman and the noble lord: advice, no doubt, had been given to her majesty, which, if it had not proceeded from bad intention, was not characterised by *absolute wisdom*: that advice, however, by frustrating the negotiation, had forced this appeal to parliament: finally, he declared that he should take no farther share in these deliberations: once more, however, he interfered, but with a tone of respect and kindly feeling toward the queen; and when the cabinet determined to proceed against her, he resigned his office. After several other members had delivered their opinions, Mr. Wilberforce rose to recommend an adjournment of the debate; hoping that during such an interval, some mode of compromise might be discovered, to prevent this disgusting investigation, which was likely to be so injurious to the character of royalty, as well as to the public morals. Lord Castlereagh, though he anticipated little good from the proposed delay, would not oppose this motion, as it marked the spirit which pervaded the house; a spirit, in unison with that on which ministers themselves had acted: in consequence an adjournment took place to the Friday following.

CHAP.
LX.
—
1820.

Nearly two days elapsed without any overture on either side; until the queen, yielding to the advice of friends, made a communication to lord Liverpool, through Mr. Brougham; in which, deferring to the expressed opinion of the house of commons, she declared herself ready to take into consideration any arrangement consistent with her dignity and honor: his lordship, in reply, referred her to the memorandum placed in the hands of her own attorney-general; and the queen declared, that this document, which had been superseded by lord Hutchinson's proposition, was now submitted to her for the first time: but, she added, the recognition of her rank and privileges must form the basis of any arrangement. Ministers felt and expressed surprise, that the memorandum had not been sooner communicated to her: and declared, that any proposition on the king's part must have for its basis the queen's residence abroad: her majesty then declared, that her dignity and honor being secured, she was willing to leave her cause in the hands of any person or persons of high station and character, whom both parties might select; their decision being, of course, subject to the approbation of parliament: this proposal was accepted, with the single reservation, that any arrangement should be subject to his majesty's pleasure; and, in consequence, the duke of Wellington and lord Castlereagh were appointed on behalf of the king; Messrs. Brougham and Denman being nominated by the queen. Meanwhile, parliament was farther adjourned; and the referees met, for the first time, on the fifteenth of June, at lord Castlereagh's house, in St. James's-square. The protocol, at this conference, set forth, that 'the queen must not be understood to admit, nor the king to retract, any position;' with which insuperable barrier before them, the negotiators finished as they began; for it was contended, *in limine*, on her majesty's behalf, that her name should be inserted in the liturgy; but this was refused on behalf of the king: both parties were immoveable; and the conference was broken up. When this rupture of the negotiation was reported to the house of commons on

the nineteenth, Mr. Wilberforce gave notice that he had a motion for the following day; but when the time of making it arrived, he requested, and obtained farther delay: though urged to state the nature of his proposition, he carefully guarded the mysterious secret till the twenty-second, when it came out in two resolutions, expressing regret at the recent failure of negotiations, and soliciting her majesty to gratify the house by conceding a few points, not as shrinking from inquiry, but for the sake of amicable arrangement: an amendment was then proposed by lord Archibald Hamilton, the object of which was the insertion of the queen's name in the liturgy; when an animated debate ensued, in which the speech of sir Francis Burdett, in censure of ministers, produced an electrifying effect on the house; and he sat down amid loud and universal cheering. Mr. Canning, rising to reply, began by stating, that, however much provoked by the honorable baronet's speech, he should abstain, on this occasion, from entering the lists with him: the conduct of administration was a question, which the house would soon have an opportunity of discussing; and come that question when it might, ministers, either as a body or as individuals, would be fully prepared to meet it. It was not from want of readiness that he now declined the contest: whatever might be the fate of this night's question, ample opportunities for justification would occur; and he would then be quite ready to meet any opponent with arms, he hoped, of as keen a temper, as any that had been, or could be, wielded against him; with denial and defiance, with vindication and retort, equal to those of the most boisterous accuser or noisy cheerer, who raised his voice on the present occasion. This specimen of magniloquent courage provoked a sarcastic retort from Tierney; who observed, that, 'as the better part of valor was discretion, he commended Mr. Canning's prudence, in postponing his defence of ministers till the effect of sir Francis's speech was done away: the very fact proved that it was unanswerable:' the best comment, indeed, on Mr. Canning's boast, was, that

CHAP.
LX.

1820.

he left his friends to vindicate themselves, and relieved himself from the necessity of redeeming his pledge by the resignation of his office. Mr. Wilberforce's motion, being supported by ministers, was carried by a majority of 391 against 134.

At this time, fears began to be entertained by a certain party, who desired to retain the queen as an instrument to promote their own designs, lest she should retire from the scene, and avoid the troubles rising fast around her, by returning to the continent: prudence and good policy would have dictated this line of conduct; but strenuous efforts were made to support her spirits and encourage her resolution to stay: several eminent characters were introduced to her society; and among them the celebrated Dr. Parr, who installed himself as domestic chaplain, and wrote answers to various addresses which she received: under the more covert agency of designing demagogues, every expedient was employed to instil into her mind a notion that she was the idol of the people; while the passions of the mob were inflamed, and their processions marshalled, in order to promote this scheme. A chief actor in the pantomime was the noted political writer, William Cobbett, who addressed several letters to her majesty on the subject, written in that simple, clear, energetic style, which is so calculated to impose on credulity. 'It was feared,' he said, 'that she would go, even on the dishonorable terms proposed: every effort that I could make in public I made to prevent this; and I made every effort in private also.'³ In his very first communication with her majesty, he observed, 'that the offer made in her name to quit this country, had filled the womens' eyes with tears, and the mens' hearts with a feeling, which never before existed in them with regard to her;' and he implored her to be convinced, 'that no terms, no conditions, no qualifications, could, in public estimation, remove that impression which the consenting to abandon her country must necessarily make; the fatal consequences of which he could clearly foresee, but

³ History of George IV. § 428.

had not the heart to describe.' Fearful of the effect which Mr. Wilberforce's motion might produce, he wrote again to the queen, in terms apparently of the most friendly regard; pointing out the snare, though feeling certain that 'her majesty had too much sagacity not to perceive it.' That gentleman's address, he observed, 'was intended to place her in this dilemma; namely, to give up to ministers, or to incur the ill-will of the commons; much therefore would depend on the answer given to it;' and he presumed to advise, that 'this answer should explicitly reject the advice offered by the address, in a manner calculated to flatter rather than to wound the pride of the house; also that it should contain incidentally an expression of her fixed determination to remain *at home*—that word, so sweet to English ears; and so electrifying, if it were to come from the pen of her majesty.' This letter, the writer stated, was not without its effect; for the queen was induced to decline the advice of the commons; and the deputation, consisting of Messrs. Wilberforce, Bankes, Stuart Wortley, and sir Thomas Acland, were, on their return, hissed and hooted by the populace: men were appointed to carry green bags suspended to long poles, before them; and their coachmen were compelled to go at a funeral pace, in order that the deputies might have the benefit of hearing the sentiments of the people. In her answer to an address from the city of London, voted a short time afterwards at a common council, she made the following declaration:—'In the many deep sorrows and afflictions with which it has pleased Providence to visit me, I have derived unspeakable consolation from the zealous and constant attachment of this warm-hearted, just, and generous people; to live *at home* with, and to cherish whom, will be the chief happiness of the remainder of my days.' 'Thus,' says the author above-quoted, in a passage which exhibits no bad specimen of his peculiar style, and of the art with which he contrived to soften the dark shades of a malignant purpose by lights of generous feeling and of honest sympathy, 'thus she was fixed; thus this grand point was decided, to the

CHAP.
LX.
1820.

lacerating mortification of all sons and daughters of corruption, and to the mortification of nobody more than to that of the legal advisers of her majesty; who were fairly beaten here, and beaten, too, by the man whom they hated more than they hated adders and toads. I will not pretend that vindictive feeling had nothing to do with my conduct on this occasion: I had been two years in jail, and had paid a thousand pounds fine besides, for an act which merited the applause and admiration of all good men; and this king had my thousand pounds in his pocket: I had been driven across the Atlantic; I had been stripped of every farthing I possessed in the world; I had been torn from my farm, to earn which I had worked like a horse for twenty years; I had been made a bankrupt, and was then in the rules of the king's bench, in consequence of these two houses, and this king, having passed laws, to enable Sidmouth and Castlereagh to put me in a dungeon at their pleasure. I will not pretend that the feeling created by these injuries had no effect on my conduct here; and for what purpose has God placed resentment in the breast of man, if it be not to prevent oppression, by showing those who possess power that they are not always safe to exercise it in the doing of wrong? How would it be possible for justice long to continue in the world, if those who have power were always safe from the resentment of the oppressed? But, leaving this out of the question, what part more friendly could I have acted toward this poor queen? The king had distinctly accused her in his message to the two houses; he had consented to her having a pension, and not to prosecute her, if she would go away, and live out of the kingdom. Where is there a human being, who would not have concluded that she was conscious of her guilt, if she had gone away? no matter on what terms; every one would have concluded that she was conscious of guilt; and that very people, who sustained her with so much generosity, and such matchless resolution, would never have consented to her receiving one farthing out of their earnings in the way of pension: therefore, I was

a faithful adviser of the queen, and at the same time availed myself of her cause to further what I deemed the political interests of the people.'

The foregoing extracts have been quoted, because without this key, the conduct of this wretched queen cannot be justly estimated: she had indeed legal advisers, on whom much obloquy was thrown at the time, and probably with much injustice; for, as in the case of a government, when a party behind the throne counteracts the designs of administration; so in this unhappy affair responsible advisers were placed in the foreground, while the influential persons stood out of view.

Every hope of conciliation being now at an end, the commons, on the motion of lord Castlereagh, voted a farther adjournment, in order to leave initiative proceedings to the lords; but the parliamentary discussions, as well as the publication of negotiations and conferences, with comments by partisans on each side, turned the whole kingdom into one great arena of disputation, in the interest of which all other interests appeared to merge. On the fourth of July, the secret committee made their report; stating, 'that the charges appeared calculated so deeply to affect, not only the honor of the queen, but the dignity of the crown, and the moral character of the country, that in their opinion it was necessary they should become the subject of a solemn inquiry, which might best be effected in the course of a legislative proceeding.'

Next day, lord Dacre, who, on the twenty-sixth of June, had presented a petition from the queen, protesting against any secret inquiry, and requesting time to bring her witnesses from abroad, as well as to be heard by counsel at the bar of the house, presented another, in which she demanded to be heard by counsel against the report: but the motion made for this purpose was negatived; and, on the sixth of July, the earl of Liverpool, in pursuance of the committee's commendation, brought in a bill of pains and penalties, or moved for an act of parliament, according to precedents in former ages, which might pronounce the

CHAP.
 LX.

1820.

queen guilty of adulterous intercourse, degrade her from her exalted station, and dissolve the marriage between her and the king. According to forms observed in the house of lords, it was requisite that this bill should be read a first time, as a preliminary step to the introduction of evidence: this being done, a copy of it was sent to her majesty through the hands of sir Thomas Tyrwhitt, usher of the black rod; and the seventeenth of August was fixed for a second reading, when the trial of her majesty may be said actually to have commenced: on that day, there appeared, in support of the bill, sir R. Gifford and sir J. Copley, the king's attorney and solicitor-general; sir C. Robinson, the king's advocate-general; Dr. Adams, a civilian; and Mr. Parke, an outer barrister: on the part of the queen, appeared her attorney-general, Mr. Brougham; her solicitor-general, Mr. Denman; Dr. Lushington, a civilian; with Messrs. Williams, Tindal, and Wilde, outer barristers: Mr. Maule, solicitor to the treasury, assisted by Mr. Powel, an attorney, who had been employed at Milan in collecting evidence, acted as agent for the bill; and Mr. Vizard, as agent for the accused.

On the eleventh of July, the queen petitioned, and on the fourteenth, lord Erskine moved, that she should be furnished with a list of the times and places specified in the charges, as well as of the witnesses to be brought against her: this advantage, however, which she would have had in case of impeachment, being opposed by the chancellor and other peers, was now refused. If the slightest hopes of conciliation yet remained, they were dispersed by the queen's 'Letter to the King,' written under the influence of her secret advisers, recapitulating wrongs past and present, and attacking with infinite force and bitterness both her husband and the parliament. 'Even,' she said, 'on the slave-mart, the cries of, 'O my mother! O my child!' have prevented a separation of the victims of avarice; but your advisers, more inhuman than slave-dealers, remorselessly tore the mother from the child . . . your court was the scene,

not of polished manners and refined intercourse, but of low intrigue and scurrility, in which spies, bacchanalian talebearers, and foul conspirators swarmed.' Speaking of the house of lords, she says, 'to regard such a body as a court of justice, would be to calumniate that sacred name; and for me to suppress the expression of my opinion, would be to lend myself to my own destruction, as well as to an imposition on the nation and the world. I protest against this species of trial: I demand it in a court, where the jurors are taken impartially from among the people, and the proceedings are open and fair: I will not, except compelled by force, submit to any sentence not pronounced by a court of justice.'

In the mean time, the address of the city of London was followed by others from innumerable cities, towns, and villages of the united kingdom. 'The press and the people,' it has been truly said, 'were not idle; nor was the queen herself idle: she took a mansion at Hammersmith, on the banks of the Thames, called Brandenburg-house; and thither processions of one sort or other, with addresses, went every day, except Sundays; and sometimes four or five a day, each containing, on an average, 20,000 people: she was soon obliged to appoint certain days in the week for receiving them: the other days she devoted to rides into different parts of the city and its environs; so that, except during the hours of darkness, she lived in an incessant noise and bustle. Her husband, the sovereign, had some noise to endure also; but it was of a different description: in their processions, when they went to address the queen, the populace generally stopped opposite his palace; and in shouts sufficient to have reached him if he had been in the clouds, they made him acquainted with their way of thinking, and their resolution with regard to him: when he was obliged sometimes to go from London to the cottage, or from the cottage to London, he took care to move in the dark; but it was surprising with what accuracy the people ascertained his intended movements, and how

CHAP.
LX.

1820.

duly they saluted him as he passed.⁴ While the lower stream of public opinion was thus swelling to a torrent, on which the queen was buoyed up; the opposite party were busily employed in preparing for the approaching investigation; in aid of which many witnesses, principally drawn from Italian states, were rapidly arriving at different ports: one party of these, on landing at Dover, were so roughly handled by the populace, that they were re-conveyed back to Holland; whence they were subsequently brought up the Thames to London: there all were provided with a lodging in Cotton-garden, a spot contiguous to the two houses of parliament, being under the protection of large bodies of military stationed in the neighborhood, and of an armed vessel, carrying about sixteen guns, moored in the river.

Trial of
the queen.

On the seventeenth of August, soon after nine in the morning, the lords began to take their places; having had to make their way through mobs of the most alarming kind, which surrounded the two houses, and filled every street in the vicinity: the judges were requested to assist at their deliberations; and the names of the peers having been called over at ten, lord Liverpool moved the order of the day for the second reading of the bill of pains and penalties: the duke of Leinster opposed this measure, and moved that the order should be rescinded; on a division, however, the amendment was negatived, and the earl of Liverpool then moved that counsel be called in, and heard in support of the preamble of the bill.

The earl of Caernarvon, in a very able speech, stated his reasons for opposing the present measure; when a discussion took place, questioning the propriety of the course about to be pursued; for it was thought by many, that the crime of which the queen was accused amounted to high treason, and demanded a different mode of trial: the doubts arising on this point were submitted to the judges; who, having conferred together in private, delivered their opinion in favor of

⁴ See Cobbett's History of George IV. § 438.

the method pursued by government: the act of a foreigner, it was said, who owed no allegiance to the crown, could not amount to high treason; and unless there were a man who could be legally charged with that crime, it could not be said that treason had been committed. When counsel made their appearance at the bar, Mr. Brougham obtained leave to state his objections to the principle of the bill in its present state of progress, which he did at great length, and with extraordinary talent: indeed, the speeches of the advocates on both sides of this exciting question may be perused as models of a high order in their respective styles of forensic eloquence; but the great length to which they ran prohibits their insertion in these pages, while a scanty epitome would be an act of injustice toward their authors. Mr. Brougham, taking advantage of the popular feeling that had been exhibited, concluded with appealing to the sagacity and fears, as well as to the honor of their lordships:—‘true it is,’ he said, ‘that your committee has reported in favor of the bill, but that cannot pledge the house; and he is the greatest of all fools, who consults his apparent consistency at the expense of his absolute ruin: the sooner you retrace the steps into which you may have been led at an unwary moment, the greater will be the service you render to your country: if you decide that this bill ought not to proceed, you will be the saviors of the state.’ Mr. Denman followed on the same side, with a speech of great eloquence, during which he was interrupted by a sudden movement around him, caused by the entrance of her majesty, who came unexpectedly to witness the proceedings: after hearing her solicitor-general declare, that whatever might be the consequences of that investigation, whatever the sufferings inflicted on her majesty, he would never withdraw from her that homage and respect, which were due to her high station, her superior mind, and those resplendent virtues which had shone through her life of persecution; that he would never pay to any other who might usurp her place, that respect and duty which belonged to her,—

CHAP.

LX

1820.

the queen withdrew; having been treated by the house with every mark of respect. The speeches of her counsel were answered with consummate ability by the king's attorney and solicitor-general; and Mr. Brougham, in reply, urged a variety of arguments in favor of his original proposition, and showed the impolicy of the principle contended for by his opponents.

Public expectation was now at its height, when successive attempts were made, on the nineteenth of August, by lords King and Grey, to stop all farther proceedings; but their motions were negatived by immense majorities, and the attorney-general was ordered by the lord chancellor to state his case. This statement, which was very able, and detailed very disgraceful scenes, occupied two days; making an impression, not only on the house, but also on the public, which required all the efforts of demagogues to counteract.⁵ the close of it was drowned in the noise of drums, trumpets, and tumultuous acclamations from the immense multitudes that accompanied the queen to the house. Soon after her entrance, the examination of witnesses commenced, which gave rise to an extraordinary incident; for her majesty, hearing the clerk of the commons call the name of Theodore Majocchi, the third witness, started from her seat with a loud but indistinct cry; rushed out of the house; and returned with great speed to her own residence: this man had been one of her domestic servants; and it must ever remain matter of conjecture, whether the exclamation was a consequence of her conscious guilt taken by surprise, or of indignation at his treacherous ingratitude. The examination of witnesses occupied uninterrupted attention to the sixth of September; and on the seventh, the solicitor-general, in a masterly manner, summed up the evidence in support of the bill: on the ninth, in consequence of an appli-

⁵ 'I was in Hertfordshire,' says Cobbett, 'when this speech was made: coming home, and finding what the impression had been, I wrote and published an answer to it on the twenty-third of August: of this answer more than 100,000 copies were sold: it was printed and reprinted all over the kingdom, and it stayed the plague: it gave a proper turn to the public mind, and even rendered harmless all that could be said afterwards against the queen, even by the solicitor-general, who was the most able lawyer in the kingdom.'

cation from her majesty's counsel, an adjournment took place to the third of October, when Mr. Brougham entered on the defence in a speech of surpassing power; being followed in a strain of impressive eloquence by Mr. Williams, who adverted to many prominent points, sworn to in the prosecution, which he declared he should be able to rebut by the clearest testimony: the examination of witnesses on behalf of the queen lasted from the fifth of October to the twenty-fourth: when Mr. Denman proceeded to sum up the evidence in a speech which lasted two successive days, in which he took a retrospective view of the whole proceedings, as contrasted in prosecution and defence, interspersed with numerous illustrative remarks; but with a fearlessness and license which reached the utmost limit that could be claimed by an advocate: toward the conclusion, he paid the following fine and classical compliment to his great leader in the cause:—‘We have fought,’ he said, ‘the battles of morality, christianity, and civilised society throughout the world; and, in the language of the dying warrior, I may say;—

‘In this glorious and well-foughten field
We kept together in our chivalry.’

While he was achieving the immortal victory, and the illustrious triumph, protecting innocence and truth by the adamantine shield of his prodigious eloquence; it has been my lot to discharge only a few random arrows at the defeated champions of this disgraceful cause: the house will believe me, when I say, that I witnessed the display of his surprising faculties with no other feelings than of sincere gratification that the triumph was complete, and of admiration and delight that the queen's victory was accomplished.’ Dr. Lushington followed, on the twenty-sixth of October, with a luminous view of the case, aided by those high attainments in the civil law for which he was so distinguished: the king's attorney and solicitor-general occupied four days in their ingenious replies to the arguments of the queen's counsel.

On the sixth of November, the peers closed a long

CHAP.
LX.
1820.

and earnest debate of five nights on the second reading of the bill; a measure equivalent to the question of guilty or not guilty in other courts; when the motion was carried by 123 voices against 95, or by a majority of only 28; with protests from many peers on various grounds, the principal of which was the unsatisfactory proof of alleged adultery: a protest also from the queen was read by lord Dacre, in which she not only made the most solemn assertions of innocence, but observed, that ‘unless these unexampled proceedings should bring the bill before the other house, she would make no reference whatever to the treatment experienced by her during the last twenty-five years;’ an *innuendo*, which could not fail to produce effect.

As soon as the bill was committed, the small preponderance in its favor was diminished; for when the divorce clause came under discussion, several peers, who considered the queen’s guilt established by the evidence, and were willing to pass the bill in all its other parts, declared their aversion, on religious scruples, to vote for the divorce: the archbishop of York, in particular, explained this as his ground for having voted against the second reading; while the bishop of Chester, and lord Lauderdale, who had been in the majority on that occasion, from an understanding that the divorce clause would be abandoned, now held the same objection; and the earl of Harrowby, though a cabinet minister, pursued a similar course; though the lord chancellor strongly urged the necessity of perseverance. The archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London, defended divorce on scriptural authority; and the latter is represented to have maintained, that, as the king, by the constitution, could politically do no wrong, he could not commit folly, much less crime; and therefore could afford no opening for recrimination: it was, however, very generally felt, that his majesty, as a husband, had no claim to that relief, which the ecclesiastical courts deny to any other individual, who does not come before them ‘with clean hands.’

The partisans of the queen, headed by the noblest

and most skilful of her champions, earl Grey, were not slow in seizing the advantage afforded by this difference of opinion among her opponents: they now gave their strongest support to the obnoxious clause; and the manœuvre was successful; for that clause was carried by a majority of one hundred and twenty-nine to sixty-two; nine cabinet ministers being left in the minority. With this encumbrance, the fate of the bill itself became evident; for on the tenth of November, it was read a third time by the disheartening majority of one hundred and eight to ninety-nine. There was yet one question to be put—‘that this bill do now pass:’ and here the ministers shrunk back: the queen petitioned to be heard by counsel against that final step; and lord Liverpool, in reply, declared, that with so small a majority, in the actual state of public feeling, he and his colleagues abandoned the bill; when a motion was made that the question should be put off to that day six months: this proposal was carried, though not without some strong protests; and the commons, who had been held in readiness for the reception of the bill by repeated adjournments, were now, as well as the peers, released by a prorogation of parliament to the twenty-third of January: thus ended in defeat and disgrace, the domestic war, which George IV. had for twenty-five years carried on against his consort.

CHAP.
LX.
1820.

Abandonment of the bill of pains and penalties.

On the necessity of these legal proceedings, under all the features which the case latterly assumed, there can be little doubt; but the policy of that conduct which produced them, and occasioned a question of individual vice to be mingled with one of public principle, will always be severely discussed, as well as the truth or falsehood of the allegations against the queen herself. Whatever may be the verdict of posterity concerning her actual guilt, it must be acknowledged that she was a person of coarse mind and indelicate conduct; though, in justice to her memory, it must be remarked, that much of the evidence against her was tainted with corrupt practices and downright perjury. Whether she was guilty or innocent, the generous

CHAP.
LX.

1820.

feelings of Englishmen, ever ready to espouse the weaker side, were extensively enlisted in the cause of one whom they regarded as an unprotected woman, oppressed by the hatred of her husband, and exposed to the arts of those, whom they considered rather as the slaves of his tyrannical will than as the constitutional advisers of a limited monarch.

On the twenty-ninth of November, her majesty, preceded by a numerous cavalcade of gentlemen on horseback, led by sir Robert Wilson, went in state to St. Pauls to return public thanks; on which occasion, the multitude which rallied round the decorated banners borne in procession was so great, as to render it a matter of extreme difficulty for her carriage to approach the cathedral: the day however closed, contrary to general expectation, without accident or riot. To the general illuminations, ringing of bells, and firing of cannon, with which the queen's victory had been celebrated at its announcement, succeeded addresses of the lower orders, stimulated by a democratical party, which still wished to retain her as the instrument of their designs: these, however, became too irksome to be long borne by the veriest slave to popularity; and a sort of order was issued in her name, that addresses should be presented to her only on one fixed day of the week: meanwhile, a few of the aristocratical families in opposition, showed her certain marks of attention; and as she no longer required the assistance of a mob, she gradually withdrew herself from the contaminating influence of its leaders: this was the signal for their desertion of her cause; and the account of it is thus described by a democrat of the first order:—‘The whig faction flocked about her directly after the abandonment of the bill; and her lawyers, who now called themselves her constitutional advisers, belonged to that faction, which thought to get possession of power by her instrumentality, she having the people at her back: but the people, who hated this faction more than the other, the moment they saw it about her, troubled her with no more addresses; they suffered her to remain very tranquil at Branden-

burg-house; the faction agitated questions about her in parliament, concerning which the people cared not a straw: what she was doing soon became as indifferent to them as what any other person of the royal family was doing; the people began again to occupy themselves with the business of obtaining a parliamentary reform; and her way of life, and her final fate, soon became objects of curiosity much more than of interest, with the people.⁶ During the excitement occasioned by the above-mentioned transactions, the duchess of York expired, on the sixth of August, in the fifty-fourth year of her age; herself also a forsaken wife, but one who exhibited a remarkable contrast to the unhappy queen, by a steady cultivation of the retiring virtues, and a devotion of her time to exercises of charity and extensive benevolence: she was, at her own express desire, privately interred in the village church of Weybridge, near to Oatlands, where she died. On the sixteenth of June, the public funeral of that eminent patriot, Mr. Henry Grattan, took place at Westminster Abbey; and on the sixth of November, captain Parry returned from his unsuccessful, but interesting voyage; having reached the 113th degree of west longitude, where he passed one winter, in latitude 74: yet, though he was at this time obliged to give up the object of his expedition, his opinion remained favorable to the theory of a north-west passage into the Pacific; and he very soon prepared to renew his attempts to discover it: the Astronomical Society was founded this year, and the colossal head of Memnon, from Egyptian Thebes, deposited in the British Museum.

CHAP.
LX.
1820.

Domestic
events.

Though the period which we have just been describing was one of agitation and disturbance in Great Britain, it was tranquillity itself when compared with the state of affairs in many other nations: the two great antagonist principles, in the south of Europe, at this time commenced a struggle, the violence of which was proportionate to the difficulty with which they had been previously coerced. In Spain, Portugal, and

Continental
transac-
tions.

⁶ Cobbett's History of George IV. § 454.

CHAP.
LX.
1820.

Italy the democratic spirit first broke out into open action: the tyranny and misgovernment of Ferdinand VII. had long excited and justified the indignation of all among his subjects who were attached to the principles of freedom, or sensible of shame on account of national disgrace: but the bigoted mass of the people continued to be led by their priests, whose interest it was to support the existing system of despotism: hence every attempt to restore the constitution of 1812 proved abortive, until a total ruin of the finances, added to the disasters of a colonial war, infused a spirit of discontent into the army assembled at Cadiz, which the court of Madrid could neither pay nor embark: these circumstances enabled Riego and Quiroga to effect that in which Porlier and Lacy had failed; so that the terrified and perfidious monarch was compelled to re-establish the constitution which he had abrogated, and to recall the Cortes, whose prominent members had been for years immured within his dungeons. Alas! how great is the sum of human misery, for which despots and continuators of old abuses have to answer! not only are they chargeable with those evils under which the miserable people groan, who are subject to their tyrannical sway; but with the disorders and desolating fury which generally arise from reaction to that tyranny, when the popular party gains an ascendancy! A delusive plan of universal suffrage having thrown too much power into the hands of the populace, the deputies sent to the Spanish Cortes were chiefly men of strong democratic principles; and there soon appeared proofs, not only of the unsuitable nature of the constitution itself to the spirit and wants of the nation, but of a lamentable deficiency of political wisdom and justice in the majority of the assembly: the nobles, and especially the priests, were hostile to the revolution; yet, instead of conciliating these powerful classes by admitting them to a fair share of legislative power, the constitutionals would suffer no change in the democratic features of the government; and their first acts were those of outrage on their political opponents. As the

most important rights of the sovereign were by the new constitution transferred to the Cortes, these latter proceeded to disgust the nobility by a law abrogating the old system of entails, and still more deeply to incense the clergy by issuing decrees for the immediate suppression of religious orders and houses, and for the sale of their property: the ill effect of such proceedings was soon manifested in various anti-constitutional insurrections headed by the ejected monks, to whom the peasantry were blindly attached; while the constitutionalists, hated both by the king and the nobles, were themselves split into parties, and the whole country became a prey to distraction and misery.

Portugal had suffered under a despotism more odious in its form even than that of Spain; for the continued preference shown by the king for his colonial residence had occasioned the affairs of government to be committed to a vile and obnoxious regency, which was chiefly supported in authority by British officers of despotic principles, maintained in the highest military commands. As this misruled country contained a small but active party, zealous for constitutional liberty, they were not slow in availing themselves of the example of Spain, and the discontent reigning among all classes of people, to effect a revolution: the flame of insurrection, beginning at Oporto, was quickly communicated to the capital; the regency submitted; the British officers were dismissed; and the constitution of their neighbors was unfortunately taken as a model for that of Portugal. During the discussions on this subject, field-marshal lord Beresford, that most determined enemy of Portuguese liberty, arrived in the Tagus from Rio Janeiro, and expressed an extreme desire to land: but the public alarm excited by this visit was so great, that it was deemed right, for the purpose of ensuring his personal safety, as well as the tranquillity of the capital, to refuse the request, and to hasten his lordship's departure.

But what, it may here be asked, was the conduct of our government toward these interesting countries,

CHAP.
LX.
1820.

in which British warriors had gained their brightest wreaths of glory, and whose inhabitants had contributed so largely to a successful termination of the late war? Unfortunately, the constituent members of our administration, as well as those by whom it was supported, had been brought up in high aristocratic and tory principles: the most influential among them had imbibed a large portion of the spirit of despotism by long and intimate association with continental despots; others were so infected by a fear of innovation in our own constitution, that any movement towards it in other states, especially those of our allies, was regarded with absolute horror: some had been so hacknied in the common routine of a political career, that they were rendered callous to the touch of human sympathy; but, more lamentable still, the great captain of the peninsular war showed little interest in the regeneration of a people who had fought under his victorious banner! No effort, therefore, had been made by that government, which possessed the greatest right of interference, to induce the 'absolute king' to modify his tyrannical acts, and to introduce a system of moderate reform into his administration: no assistance or advice was given to the constitutionalists, to preserve them from rash innovations; no attempt made to direct them in a path surrounded by perils: but, when they had involved themselves in difficulties, and drawn down upon their cause the indignation of despotic power, the British government not only received all the denunciations of other courts without regret, but subsequently saw, without offering any opposition, the old system of absolute sway introduced into the peninsula, and put into execution with the most rigorous severity: yet what streams of blood might have been stopped, what anguish been prevented, what a cost of treasure and life, since lavished by the natives of this isle itself, been saved, had a spirit of humanity prevailed in our tory cabinet!

Revolutionary doctrines, however, were not confined to the peninsula beyond the Pyrenees; the contagion quickly spread to that beyond the Alps

also. In Naples, the establishment of a constitutional government, eagerly desired by a large proportion of the people, had been promised by the king at his restoration, but afterwards prohibited through the interposition of Austria; and the feelings of indignation thence excited were cherished by the Carbonari, a species of freemasons, whose ancient fraternity was converted into a political association, for the restoration of Italian freedom: the example of the Spanish people, between whom and the Italians a political union of ages had produced much corresponding sentiment, gave a sudden impulse to the exertions of this confederacy, by whose influence the Neapolitan army was gained to the cause; and the alarming spectacle was soon exhibited, of a military power proscribing to the monarch a constitution formed after a foreign model. The ramifications of the Carbonari, in a country so central, and so politically situated, as Italy, rendered it necessary for the holy allies, either to remain quiet spectators of a general insurrection and probable extension of institutions adverse to the purposes of their confederacy, or to anticipate these movements by force of arms: accordingly, the sovereigns of Russia, Austria, and Prussia met personally in congress at Troppau, where they formally announced their resolution to crush the Neapolitan revolution, and overthrow a constitution, which it was declared had been forced on the sovereign by violence: their next step was to send a joint letter, inviting the king of Naples to meet them in a new congress at Laybach, on the frontiers of Italy; with an assurance, that his presence would best assist their anxious views for the welfare of himself as well as of his subjects, and promote a conciliatory adjustment between them: to this insidious proposal, although Austria was already pouring her troops into Lombardy, the Neapolitan parliament had the folly to consent; and Ferdinand embarked on board a British man-of-war for Leghorn, leaving a solemn declaration of his determination to adhere to the fundamental principles of the constitution, which he had sworn to maintain. The presence of a British fleet, for some

CHAP.

LX.

1820.

time past, in the bay of Naples, tended to corroborate what was formerly acknowledged; that, although by the constitution of this country, the sovereign could not openly profess himself a member of the holy alliance, he fully approved of its principles and purposes: the great mass, however, of the British people, though they could not but observe much to lament and condemn in many rash proceedings and democratic innovations among the constitutionalists, yet sympathised strongly in the general justice of their cause, and reprobated the declared resolutions of the holy confederates.

This Neapolitan revolution was followed by sanguinary commotions among the Sicilians; who naturally wished to detach their country from its degrading dependence on Naples, and to reform a system of government, whose base tendencies and injurious oppressions are noted throughout Europe. The Ottoman Porte also attacked its rebellious pasha of Joannina this year; at the close of which, that atrocious tyrant was closely blockaded in his fortress of Litaritza. France, though not subject to political convulsions, was strongly agitated by the deplorable assassination of the duc de Berri, youngest nephew of Louis XVIII., and the only member of his family who promised to continue a line of heirs to the throne. The law of elections received an important alteration, which was intended to give greater stability to the constitution, by neutralising a portion of the democratic principle: while 258 members of the chamber, as originally constituted, were returned by the electoral colleges, 172 additional deputies were to be chosen by departmental colleges, composed of one-fourth part of the electors; being such as paid the largest contributions to the public service.

CHAPTER LXI.

GEORGE IV. (CONTINUED).—1821.

Meeting of parliament—Contest between the queen's friends and ministers—Queen's annuity bill—End of the contest—Extinction of the queen's popularity—Feeling in England against the principles of the holy alliance—Committee voted on the catholic claims, &c.—Motions for parliamentary reform—Disfranchisement of Grampound—Report of the agricultural committee, &c.—Measures to alter the navigation laws, and in favor of free trade—Mr. Hume—Supplies, &c.—Prorogation of parliament—Death of Napoleon—Preparations for the coronation, &c.—Claim preferred by the queen, and rejected—Her attempts to be present at the coronation repulsed—Ceremony of the coronation, &c.—Death of the queen—King's visit to Ireland—Queen's funeral—King's return—State of Irish government and of the country—Recall of the lord lieutenant—King's visit to Hanover—Foundation of the Royal Society of Literature—State of Europe, particularly of Greece—Opening of parliament in 1822—Lord Wellesley governor of Ireland; state of the country, enactments of the legislature, &c.—Ravages of famine and disease in Ireland, &c.—Conduct of various classes—Agricultural distress in England—Admission of the Grenville party into the cabinet—Mr. Peel made secretary of state—Mr. Canning designated as governor-general of India—His motion to restore Roman catholic peers to their seats in parliament—Agricultural distress, and appointment of a committee—Bills founded on its report—Financial bills—State of parties—Acts for the reduction of expenditure forced on ministers, &c.—Mr. Western's motion on the currency—Relaxation of Peel's bill—Statistical affairs—Reduction in the salt-tax and in that on malt, &c.—Relaxation in the navigation and trade laws—Lord J. Russell's plan for parliamentary reform—Greek cause introduced into the house of commons—Favored by the people—Prorogation of parliament—The king's visit to Scotland—Death of lord Londonderry, &c.—Prevalence of bad principles—Trials of Carlile, &c. for blasphemous publications—Appointment of Mr. Canning as secretary of state—Congress of Verona, &c.—Greek cause—Affairs

CHAP.
LXI.
1821.

of Spain—Liberal views of Mr. Canning—Changes in the cabinet—Caledonian canal—Grant to publish the early histories of Britain.

Meeting of
parliament.

PARLIAMENT, having assembled on the twenty-third of January, was opened by his majesty in person, with a speech characterised by the moderation of a crest-fallen man: in his references to domestic concerns, he expressed satisfaction at decreasing evils; and, in noticing foreign commotions, he stated, that his great object would be to preserve the blessings of peace to his people: he mentioned the queen, merely to suggest the settlement of a provision for her, in lieu of that, which, as princess of Wales, she lost at the demise of George III.

Notwithstanding these pacific demonstrations, opposition in each house prepared all its strength for a vigorous attempt to eject the ministers; who, it was imagined, had declined greatly in public favor by the line of conduct which they had adopted toward the queen: in pursuance of this scheme, the whigs did not disdain to co-operate with the radical party, her avowed adherents; and one of the results of this alliance was the presentation of numerous petitions, reprobating the late bill of pains and penalties, praying for the restoration of her majesty's name to the liturgy, and requesting the house to exert its utmost influence with the king to dismiss from his service those, whose pernicious advice had endangered the dignity of the crown, and disturbed the tranquillity of the nation: the opposition leaders, however, had not taken into consideration that alarm which had been produced among the supporters of established order in the upper and middle classes, as soon as it was seen that the queen had suffered her cause to be identified with that of revolutionists; nor had they sufficiently estimated the sensible diminution of popular enthusiasm in her favor: when therefore they commenced offensive operations, they found themselves encountered and defeated by large majorities: the experiment was made in the lower house, on the twenty-sixth of January,

by lord Archibald Hamilton, in a motion of censure on ministers for the omission of her majesty's name in the liturgy; being seconded by Mr. Hobhouse, one of the members for Westminster; while the legality, no less than the justice of such an omission, was disputed by those eminent lawyers, sir James Mackintosh, Mr. Scarlett, and Mr. Wetherell, who fortified their arguments with much historical and antiquarian research. In reply, the attorney and solicitor-general contended for the point of necessity, and also declared that it was not illegal; the former observing, that the act of uniformity gave a power to omit as well as to alter or change; as was evident from the fact, that the liturgy annexed to that act contains a blank in the place of the name of queen; which, without such vested power of addition or omission, could never have been supplied. The conduct of administration was strenuously defended by lord Castlereagh, as an act of imperative duty: he regretted that the law on this point was not more clear; but as the case stood, if they had at first inserted her majesty's name in the liturgy, while such heavy charges lay against her, and had been afterwards compelled to erase it on account of the confirmation of those charges, they would have been overwhelmed by the moral indignation of the country. 'But it was said,' continued his lordship, 'that the queen was proved innocent, and that her name should now be inserted as a matter of course: the opinion of gentlemen opposite on that point has not much weight with me, and I will tell them why; because their conviction was as strong before the evidence was given, as after. I will grant she was technically acquitted, and may claim the possession of those privileges to which she has strictly a legal right: but the insertion of her name in the liturgy is not a matter of right; and when her character has been so far affected by the evidence produced against her, that 123 peers pronounced her guilty, the crown cannot be advised to grant this or any other favor which depends on its pleasure to be granted or with-

CHAP.
LXI.
1821.

held: toward the queen personally, I feel compassion; but since they who affect to be her friends have renewed the discussion, be theirs the odium and the mischief which must ensue: I cannot however be silent on her conduct; since she has been so infatuated as to deliver herself into the hands of a party, who, I believe, entertain designs dangerous to public tranquillity and to the constitution; nor can I honor her more in a political than in a moral point of view; for has she not, in her answers to addresses, reviled the king, degraded the crown, and vilified both houses of parliament? But, thank God! the country is coming to its senses; and if parliament persists in its tone of dignified resolution, the efforts of that party will end in despair. Your path of duty is plain: either sustain the actual government in unimpaired honor and character, or by a manly and tangible proceeding put an end to the present cabinet.'

Mr. Brougham, in reply to this speech, contended, that as the queen had been acquitted, she must be treated as if she had never been tried, or there was no justice left in England: he wished that gentlemen who thought variously on one point, but agreed on others, would choose that on which they could unite, not that on which they differed: most of them thought the omission of the queen's name illegal; some doubted its illegality: all however were clear as to its being inexpedient and ill-advised. Lord A. Hamilton's motion was met by the question of adjournment, which was carried by a majority of 101 votes in favor of ministers: a few days afterwards, on the proposition of lord Castlereagh, for a committee to take into consideration a provision for the queen, Mr. Brougham brought down a message from her majesty, declaring in respectful but positive terms, her unaltered determination to accept of no settlement while her name was excluded from the liturgy: not deterred however by this announcement, his lordship proposed to the house a provision of £50,000 per annum, as originally settled on her by the marriage treaty, and offered to

her at St. Omers: after some vehement debates, the vote passed without a division, and a bill for this annuity was forwarded through the usual stages.

CHAP.
LXI.
—
1821.

Lord Tavistock, on the fifth of February, renewed the attack, by a motion of direct censure on the whole proceedings against her majesty, with an expressed intention of driving ministers from power: he was seconded by Mr. Lambton, who charged them with gross inconsistency and mismanagement; but, after two nights spent in violent debate, the majority in favor of government was, on a division, increased to 146. The third and last effort made in the queen's cause was a motion from Mr. W. Smith, on the thirteenth, for the restoration of her name to the liturgy: Mr. Wilberforce, and some of his friends, who had previously voted with ministers, were disposed to concede this point, for the sake of allaying popular irritation: on a division, therefore, the majority was not so large; but it was decisively negatived; and the question was not resumed during this session, except as it offered means of some desultory hostilities to the opponents of government. In the mean time, the queen was soon reduced to the embarrassing alternative which her ill-judging counsellors had prepared for her; either to be left destitute of any provision, or to accept the proposed settlement, after having aggravated her humiliating situation by the affectation of a refusal: her acceptance of the grant was necessary for her very existence; but the inconsistency of this determination with her imprudent declaration extinguished all her influence over the public mind.

The question of illegality regarding the omission of the queen's name in the liturgy, having been disposed of in the commons, was renewed in the house of lords, on the second reading of a bill granting to her an annuity of £50,000; when the chancellor defended the legality of that omission in the most unqualified terms, professing that he had made himself master of all the information attainable on the subject, to which he had applied his utmost powers of research: the excitement, however, occasioned by these proceedings relating to

CHAP.
LXI.
— 1821.

the queen, gave way to a more legitimate source of interest, arising from those of the holy alliance; whose manifesto, published at Troppau, had excited feelings of indignation among all the friends of constitutional liberty throughout Europe. The intimate connexion which had long subsisted between our government and the courts of this despotic association, as well as the zeal with which ministers were accustomed to defend the arbitrary government of continental sovereigns, and the contempt which they too often displayed in debate for popular rights, created a suspicion in the country, that they had some secret connivance, if not participation, in the projects of the great northern confederacy: nor was this impression removed by a qualified protest against its principles of interference, addressed by lord Castlereagh to our ministers at foreign courts; since it was thought, that the British government, although not called on to engage in a Quixotic defence of revolutions, ought to have exhibited a hearty reprobation of the tyrannical principles of the holy allies, as well as a positive expression of dissent from the measures by which those principles were carried into effect.

The consideration of foreign affairs was brought directly before parliament by motions from lord Grey in the upper, and sir James Mackintosh in the lower house; the ostensible object of which, was the production of all communications between his majesty's government and foreign states, on the concerns of Naples; but the real purpose was to elicit their sentiments from ministers, by an expression of vehement indignation against the confederates, and an exposition of the unjust partiality shown toward them by our cabinet; which, while it affected to condemn, had, in fact, justified their principles, by refusing to acknowledge the constitutional government of Naples. In his speech on this occasion, lord Grey adverted strongly to a document which had appeared in a Hamburg paper in December last, purporting to be a circular of the allied powers: in this, no less a claim was set up than that of general superintendence over

European states, and the suppression of all changes in their internal administration, if such should seem hostile to what the holy alliance deemed legitimate principles of government: those monarchs had, as it appeared to him, assumed the censorship of Europe; sitting in judgment on the internal transactions of other states, and even taking on themselves to summon before them an independent sovereign, in order to pronounce sentence on a constitution which he had given to his country; and threatening to enforce their judgment by arms: this, he asserted, was to declare plainly, that all changes of government, which did not square with their ideas of propriety, were to be put down;—a principle, unknown before in the history of the world; than which nothing could be more unjust, nothing more atrocious. Ministers, in their defence, repeated the assurance, that our government was in no respect a party to the league; but the papers were refused, and the motions negatived: still the debates were productive of some good, since they conveyed to the world an expression of British feeling against the union of continental despots; and obliged a cabinet, which was too much disposed to support its policy, to loosen the bonds of their connexion.

When the declaration against Naples arrived, lord Lansdowne brought the subject again before the peers, by moving an address to his majesty for a remonstrance with the allied powers; but he was met by the pretext of a strict neutrality adopted by Great Britain. In the mean time, the Austrian army advanced: no measures, or at least only the most inefficient, had been taken by the constitutional government of Naples for the national defence: the troops left their ranks and fled, before they came into contact with the invaders; the wretched old king was re-established in all the privileges of despotism; and an Austrian army of occupation remained in the country, to rivet those fetters which its pusillanimous defenders may be said to have merited. At this crisis, the flame of insurrection had burst out in Piedmont; Milan and Venice were full of inflammable materials; and if the

CHAP.
LXI.

1821.

dastardly Neapolitans had done their duty, the glorious peninsula might perhaps have been delivered from foreign and domestic tyrants: but the speedy and lamentable catastrophe at Naples paralysed the efforts of braver men; and the ancient mistress of the world was doomed to remain a mournful subject of lamentation to the Italian Muses.

Catholic
question.

From the discussion of foreign oppression, parliament proceeded to a consideration of domestic grievances. The great advocate of catholic emancipation, Henry Grattan, had departed this life; but his mantle had descended on Mr. Plunkett, who brought forward that question on the twenty-eighth of February, prefacing it by an able and lucid speech, which elicited acclamations from all parties in the house: Mr. Peel appeared, on this occasion, as chief opponent of the measure; but the motion for a committee was carried by a majority of six votes: accordingly, the house resolved itself into a committee on the second of March; when six resolutions, proposed by Mr. Plunkett, were acceded to; and on these he framed two bills, one repealing disabilities, and the other enacting securities for the safety of the protestant succession to the crown, and of the protestant church. Mr. Canning supported the measure with great eloquence and fervor; declaring that 'we were in the enjoyment of a peace, achieved in a great degree by catholic arms, and cemented by catholic blood.' 'For three centuries,' he observed, 'we had been erecting mounds, not to assist or improve, but to thwart nature: we had raised them high above the waters, where they have stood for many a year, frowning proud defiance on all who attempted to cross them: but in the course of ages, even they have been nearly broken down; and the narrow isthmus, now formed by them, stands between two seas: the fountains see each other, and would fain meet. Shall we then fortify the mounds which are now almost in ruins? or shall we leave them to moulder away by time or accident? an event, which, though distant, must happen, and which, when it does, will only confer a thankless favor; or shall we

cut away at once the isthmus that remains, and float on the mingling waves the ark of our common constitution ?'

CHAP.
LXI.
1821.

The two bills, when sent up to the house of lords, found its atmosphere not quite so congenial to their existence: the conduct of the first was undertaken by lord Donoughmore, who was strenuously opposed by the earl of Liverpool, and by the chancellor; who expressed his belief that it would be impossible for the promoters of this measure to introduce any modifications of it, so as to gain his acquiescence, though he promised to bestow his best attention on the subject, before it could be discussed at a second reading. Lord Grenville answered the chancellor in a long and skilful speech; but the fate of the measure was completely decided on the second day's debate by the memorable speech, or protest, which the duke of York, presumptive heir to the throne, then delivered. 'Educated,' said his royal highness, 'in the principles of the established church, the more I inquire, and the more I think, the more I am persuaded that her interests are inseparable from those of the constitution: I consider her as an integral part of that constitution; and I pray that she may long remain so: at the same time, there is no man less an enemy to toleration than myself; but I distinguish between the allowance of the free exercise of religion, and the granting of political power.' This speech, embodying the sentiments of his late father, George III., carried the duke of York's popularity with the partisans of the high church to an extraordinary height: it became, as it were, engraven on their hearts, and was made the watchword of that party; while numerous copies of it, printed in letters of gold, were disseminated throughout the country. The bill was thrown out, after a long discussion, in which many of the peers took a part, by 159 votes against 120: twenty-seven bishops voted on the occasion, either personally or by proxy; but only two of the number, Dr. Bathurst of Norwich, and Dr. King of Rochester, were among the contents: the diminution of the usual majority in the

CHAP.
LXI.
—
1821.

lords on this question was attributed to the character of neutrality assumed by the cabinet, several leading members of which in both houses were found among the strenuous advocates of emancipation; though their colleagues as zealously resisted the abolition of existing restrictions.

While the peers were thus engaged, the commons were occupied in a sweeping motion for parliamentary reform, introduced by Mr. Lambton; who proposed to divide the kingdom into elective districts, extend the franchise to all householders, and limit the duration of parliaments to three years. The result of the debate, which was adjourned to a second evening, was a source of much merriment to the opposers of this measure; for, taking advantage of a thin house, and the absence of its supporters, they pressed a division at an early stage in the discussion; and when the mover entered to hear the debate, he was not a little surprised to find the question already disposed of. Another plan, characterised by an admirable spirit of moderation and prudence, was proposed by lord John Russell: this would have extended the right of electing members to populous towns, then unrepresented in parliament, and disfranchised every borough convicted hereafter of corruption: though supported by 124 voices, it was thrown out by a majority of 155; many of whom probably lived to regret the vote they gave that day. But though the rejection of every direct proposal for reform, might, at first sight, appear to indicate no advance in favor of this important question; yet the increased strength of the minorities by which some of its modifications were supported, marked a growing conviction among men of moderate principles, that some concession to public opinion was necessary.

One decided measure of practical reform effected this session, was the disfranchisement of the corrupt borough of Grampound, and the transfer of its privileges to the large and populous county of York: the original purpose of lord John Russell, who moved this question, was to confer its elective rights on the town of Leeds, and to invest the franchise in householders

paying a rent of ten pounds: but this qualification savored too much of the democratic principle to satisfy a majority of the commons; and the bill passed their house, with the right of voting limited to renters of houses at twenty pounds per annum: even such a modification did not content the aristocratical jealousy of the peers; and every effort was made by lord Eldon and his party, unable as they were to glance into futurity, to defeat the measure altogether: lord Liverpool, however, effected a compromise, by proposing, as an amendment, to substitute the county of York for one of its towns; and the bill so altered, being returned to the commons, was passed. Mr. M. A. Taylor again took the field this session, on the subject of those arrears of business and delays in the court of chancery and house of lords, whence so much misery is produced; and his motion, negatived by only fifty-six against fifty-two, showed the state of public opinion on this point.

A continuation of low prices produced general distress, which was felt by no classes of the community so severely as those engaged in agricultural pursuits: numerous petitions on the subject having been presented at the beginning of this session, a committee was granted on the motion of Mr. Gooch; and its report was presented to the house on the eighteenth of June: this stated, 'that the complaints of the petitioners were founded in fact; in so far as they represented, that at the present price of corn, the returns to occupiers of arable land, after allowing for the interest of investments, were by no means adequate to the charges and outgoings: it also acknowledged, that the committee, after a long and anxious inquiry, had not been able to discover any means calculated immediately to relieve the present pressure.'

'So far,' the report stated, 'as the pressure arises from superabundant harvests, it is beyond the application of any legislative provision; so far as it is the result of the increased value of money, it is not one peculiar to the farmer, but extends to many other classes of society: that result, however, is the more

CHAP.
LXI.

1821.

severely felt by the tenant, in consequence of its coincidence with an overstocked market; especially, if he be farming with a borrowed capital, and under the engagements of a lease; and it has hitherto been farther aggravated by the comparative slowness, with which prices generally, and particularly the price of labor, accommodate themselves to a change in the value of money: from this last circumstance, the departure from our ancient standard, in proportion as it was prejudicial to all creditors of money, and persons dependent on fixed incomes, was a benefit to the active capital of the country; and the same classes have been oppositely affected by a return to that standard: the restoration of it has also embarrassed the landowner, in proportion as his estate has been encumbered with mortgages, and other fixed payments, assigned on it, during the depreciation of the currency. The only alleviation for this evil is to be looked for in such a gradual reduction of the rate of interest below the legal maximum, as may make such encumbrances a lighter burden on the landed interests; which reduction, if peace continues, there is every reason to hope for: the difficulties, in which the alterations of our currency have involved the farming, manufacturing, and trading interests of the country, must diminish, in proportion as contracts, prices, and labor adjust themselves to the present value of money.'

This report, when made public, extinguished all hopes which had been entertained from the labors of the committee: the effects resulting from a suspension of cash payments, and an inundation of paper currency, in too many instances nominal, and easily obtained by speculators, were now becoming more and more evident; but no immediate remedy could be applied, no relief contemplated, except from the gradual progression of time, with economy and remission of taxation: ministers, however, notwithstanding the opposition of those who attributed the existing low prices to the influence of threatened changes in the currency, were firm in their purpose of effecting the resumption of cash-payments; and the bank directors, renouncing all

ideas of self-interest, anticipated the period prescribed by law: they not only voluntarily opened their golden stores to the holders of their notes, but procured an act which hastened the removal of restriction by one year, making it imperative on the bank to pay all demands in cash, after the first of May, 1822.

CHAP.
LXI.
1821.

The views of government on the question of free trade, proclaimed during last session, were now more formally developed in a series of resolutions, proposed by Mr. Wallace, vice-president of the board of trade: his object was to pave the way for a complete revisal of our navigation laws, and the removal of those restrictions which forbade the free interchange of commodities in foreign shipping; when, the general sentiment of the house being favorable to the measures contemplated, leave was given, notwithstanding opposition from particular interests, to introduce bills for their enactment in the ensuing session.

In the debates on the estimates of expenditure, Mr. Hume pursued a plan of sifting and disputing the required amount of almost every item of supply; and though he failed in all direct efforts to effect any reduction of expense; yet his system of perpetually harassing government, forced ministers themselves into a necessity of originating measures of retrenchment: sometimes he was even gladly appealed to by them, when unable or unwilling to satisfy the cormorants that are constantly hovering round the treasury benches; creatures, whose lust of place and profit extinguishes all love of country and principles of liberty. The total amount of supplies for the year was £20,018,200; being less by above £1,000,000 than that for 1820: in aid of the ways and means, there were taken from the sinking fund £13,000,000; and the sum of £500,000 arose from the pecuniary indemnity paid by France. A proposition to repeal the malt tax was successfully resisted; but government, to prove its wish of relieving the agriculturists in some degree, removed the duty from horses employed in husbandry; when the labors of the session being

CHAP.
LXI.

1821.
Death of
Napoleon.

finished, parliament was prorogued by commission on the eleventh of July.

This year the common lot of mortality overtook Napoleon Bonaparte, who died in the lonely isle of St. Helena on the fifth of May, and in the fifty-second year of his age: his spirit departed from its corporeal frame in the midst of a terrific storm of thunder and lightning; and it seemed as if the awful sounds brought up the confused image of a battle to the mind of the dying warrior; for his last broken words were '*tête d'armée,*' '*fils,*' '*France!*' He was buried with the military honors due to a general of the first rank, in a grave fourteen feet deep; the lower part being chambered to receive the coffin: over this a large stone was placed, and the rest of the space was filled up with solid masonry fastened by iron clamps: very soon after his funeral ceremonies, the establishment, which had cost this country nearly half a million per annum, was broken up; and counts Bertrand and Montholon, with the rest of the late emperor's faithful adherents, returned to Europe: his will, bearing date the fourteenth of April, 1821, was brought over to England, and registered in the prerogative court of Canterbury, where it may at any time be seen. Thus terminated, in exile and in prison, the most extraordinary life yet known to political history: the intelligence created very little sensation throughout Europe; and this was one of the remarkable contrasts in the chequered destiny of a man, who once filled the world with his fame; and who had originated, or carried on, mighty transactions and revolutions, in which men of thought can see the springs of still greater changes.

Coronation
of George
IV.

The king's coronation had been originally fixed for the first of August, in the year now past; but the appearance of his consort put an end to that arrangement; and it had become a question much debated, whether the ceremony would take place in the present state of public feeling: but the pageantry of a coronation was too agreeable to the taste of George IV.

to be declined; and as no people on earth are more easily worked on by the courtesy and condescension of their superiors than the English, the king and his ministers knew that there was no necessity for extraordinary exertions in order to turn the popular stream in his favor: his majesty therefore began to appear more frequently in public than his general custom was at this time; in particular, he visited the principal theatres; where he was received with acclamations so flattering, as almost to realise the assertion made by lord Castlereagh at the close of the late trial;—‘that in six months his majesty would be the most popular man within his dominions.’ The sentiments of the people therefore having been ascertained, a proclamation was issued, announcing the king’s pleasure that his coronation should take place on the nineteenth of July: this, however, was a signal to bring the queen again into the field: ‘war to the knife!’ was the watchword of that determined and implacable woman.

In consequence of a memorial which she forwarded on the twenty-fifth of June, preferring her claim to be crowned like her royal predecessors, the case was argued, at the king’s command, before his privy council: during two sittings, her majesty’s rights were supported by Messrs. Brougham and Denman, whose chief argument rested on the plea of long and uniform practice. The king’s attorney-general admitted that usage would be evidence of a right, unless it could be shown that such usage originated and was continued by the permission of another party: ‘there was evident distinction,’ he said ‘between the coronation of a king, and that of a queen; the former being accompanied by important political acts, while the latter was a mere ceremony; but even the coronation of the king was not necessary to his possession of the crown: that act emanated from himself, and he had the sole direction of it: the right assumed by the queen consort was not once alluded to by any writer on our law and constitution; and with respect to usage itself, the majority of instances since the reign of Henry VIII.

CHAP.
LXI.
1821.

was against the claim.' He might have added, that no queen consort, from the time of William the Conqueror to the epoch just named, had been crowned at the same time with her husband. In fact, as lord Eldon observed, Mr. Brougham's argument before the privy council, seemed, to most of its members, to prove the very reverse of her majesty's claim, as a right, demanding to be crowned with the king, on the same day and at the same place.¹ The solicitor-general followed in the same line of argument: Mr. Brougham replied; and the council, at its next sitting, unanimously rejected her majesty's claim of right.

As soon as the queen received this decision through her chamberlain, lord Hood, she wrote in her own name to lord Sidmouth, stating her fixed determination to be present at the ceremony, and demanding a suitable place to be provided for her accommodation; when his lordship returned for answer, that it was not his majesty's pleasure to comply with this request, her application was renewed to the duke of Norfolk, as earl-marshal of England; and subsequently to lord Howard of Effingham, to whom his grace had delegated the duties of his office: as lord Howard was obliged to take the commands of his majesty on this occasion, through the secretary of state, the answer returned was of course unsatisfactory; and the disappointed queen finally addressed a letter to the archbishop of Canterbury, requesting his services to crown her majesty alone, the following week, while the Abbey remained in a state of preparation for that august ceremony, without the necessity of any additional expense to the nation. To this demand the following reply was instantly returned:—

' Lambeth Palace, July 15.

'The archbishop of Canterbury has the honor to acknowledge, with all humility, the receipt of her majesty's communication: her majesty is undoubtedly aware that the archbishop cannot stir a single step in the subject-matter of it without the commands of the king.'

¹ See his Life, vol. ii. p. 420.

Thus repulsed in her application to different authorities, nothing remained for the queen but to prepare a protest; which was accordingly drawn up in the most pointed terms, and which she determined to deliver personally into his majesty's hands on the day of his coronation. The publication of this document, as well as other acts, exhibiting her fixed resolution, under all hazards and circumstances, to be present at the ceremony, occasioned expectations that its celebration would be interrupted, if not prevented, by some popular commotion or infraction of the public peace: accordingly, when the day for this superb ceremony, which had not been witnessed for sixty years, arrived, the respectable part of the community mustered in very small numbers; the immense booths, constructed at a great expense by speculators for the accommodation of the public, were almost deserted; and places, for which, if no apprehensions had existed, ten guineas would have been demanded, and cheerfully given, fell to five shillings, and even to half-a-crown: ministers, however, put in practice every possible precaution to preserve tranquillity, and to baffle the designs of their antagonist: they got up shows, balloons, fireworks, and all sorts of entertainments to attract the populace from the vicinity of the Abbey; while, in case the people should stir in the queen's favor, every disposable regiment was brought into, or near, the metropolis on that day; and the streets were so barricaded, that none but soldiers on duty could move conveniently along them: but there needed none of this warlike preparation; so much was popular enthusiasm in the queen's cause abated.

On the preceding evening, the king slept at the speaker's house in Palace-yard; and on the morning of the nineteenth, while arrangements were making in Westminster-hall for the grand procession, her majesty, faithful to her word, came down to the scene of action in her state carriage, drawn by six bay horses, followed by another carriage with her attendants; and, arriving at the outer gates of the hall, she claimed a right to be present at the ceremony: being, however, very uncere-

CHAP.

LXI.

1821.

moniously excluded, she attempted to gain admission at several doors of the Abbey, but without any better success: some of the people then pointed out to her majesty an opening to the platform, which she ascended; and, walking thence to Old Palace-yard, entered first the passage to Cotton-garden, and subsequently advanced along the covered way to Poets'-corner: at this last door lord Hood desired admission; but the door-keepers drew across the entrance, and requested to see the tickets: his lordship then said, 'I present to you your queen; surely it is not necessary for her to have a ticket:' but one of the attendants replied, that he did not know the queen, and prohibited her majesty from entering. Lord Hood produced his own ticket, but was informed that it would only admit one person: her majesty, therefore, finding every effort to obtain admission ineffectual, returned to her carriage, and proceeded through Whitehall, Pall Mall, and St. James's-street, to her own residence, attended by a concourse of rabble, whose cheers and acclamations saluted her ears for the last time: on her arrival at home, she also addressed her last letter to the king, through lord Sidmouth, requesting that he would be pleased to give an early answer to the demand which she had made to the archbishop of Canterbury; and trusting, 'that, after the public insult she had received, he would grant her just right of being crowned on the following Monday.' To this, lord Sidmouth replied, that he was commanded to acquaint her majesty, that, in accordance with the decision of the privy council against the right of queens-consort to be crowned at any time, the king did not think proper to give orders for her majesty's coronation.

During the period in which the above transactions took place without the hall, considerable anxiety was manifested by the illustrious assemblage within, as the mingled uproar of applause and disapprobation reached their ears: happily however this was at an end before the procession was marshalled; and at eleven o'clock, the splendid train set out in the usual order; the anthem of 'O Lord, grant the king a long life,' being

sung in parts, in succession with the performance of his majesty's band, the sound of trumpets, and the beat of drums, until it arrived at the Abbey. This display of the most magnificent among the old pomps of England, has been commemorated by a celebrated master of description,² who has declared, 'that a ceremony more august and imposing in all its parts, or more calculated to make the deepest impression both on the eye and on the feelings, cannot be conceived.' Pitying those, who, 'being unable to detect a peg on which to hang a laugh, sneer coldly at this solemn festival, and are rather disposed to dwell on the expense which attends it, than on the generous feelings which it ought to awaken,' he very justly observes, 'that the expense, so far as it is national or personal, goes directly and instantly to the encouragement of the British manufacturer and mechanic; that it operates as a tax on wealth and consideration, for the benefit of poverty and industry; a tax, willingly paid by the one class; and not less acceptable to the other, because it adds a happy holyday to the monotony of a life of labor.'

Notwithstanding this great authority, however, it may confidently be predicted, that no coronation will again be attempted in this kingdom, on the same scale, and in the same style, as that of George IV. Times change, and we must change with them, notwithstanding the pain which this may cause to the lovers of antiquity: mere gaudy processions have had their day; the seasons for which they were suited, when intellectual and refined amusements were unknown, have passed away, and vain ceremonies must vanish in their train. When sir Walter Scott, within the sacred walls of the Abbey, witnessed with those heartfelt emotions, which he has so eloquently described, the voluntary and solemn interchange of vows betwixt the king and his assembled people, while *he* called on God to witness his resolution to maintain their laws and privileges, and *they* to bear witness that they accepted him as their liege sovereign, we can readily

² Sir Walter Scott, in his Letter on the Coronation.

CHAP.
LXI.

1821.

enter into his feelings, and applaud the scene: also we acknowledge the justness of his description, when he calls lord Londonderry, in the magnificent robes of the garter, with his cap and high plume, his fine face and majestic person, an adequate representative of the order of Edward III.: in a similar spirit, we allow that the duke of Wellington, with all his laurels, moved and looked as one deserving the baton, which was never grasped by a worthier hand: but when majesty itself came tottering along the platform between the Abbey and the hall, scarcely able to support the glittering diadem that formed a melancholy contrast with his faded and enfeebled frame; when the high-spirited representative of the grand order of England, and the immortal conqueror of Napoleon, marching amidst a motley crew of antique maskers, paraded their ribbons and their laurels, their stars, garters, and plumes, before a gaping crowd, of what has been humorously termed 'the great unwashed;' it was then extensively felt that a downward step had been taken 'from the sublime to the ridiculous;' and why so?—because there was a want of unison between the parties. In ancient times, these decorated figures in procession would have been regarded with silent awe, or accompanied with murmurs of respectful and sincere applause: in the present instance, they were received with laughter; and the highest nobles of our land became subjected to the gibes and jeers of apprentice boys, and the lowest of the mob.³ On a subsequent occasion, better taste was shown: the procession which accompanied William IV. to the Abbey, was a military array: the fine and affecting part of the ceremony was preserved; the trumpery was discarded.

Death
of queen
Caroline.

The ill-fated queen, who had placed her last stake on the hazard of a day, and, having totally failed in her object, had incurred derision even from the popu-

³ These absurd pageantries are worthy only of contempt; but how shall we designate that base act of adulation committed by the University of Oxford, dispensing with a whole term of academical residence in honor of George the Fourth's accession to the crown! *remitting* to her students so large a portion of their course of studies; as if those studies were a punishment inflicted on her sons!

CHAP.
LXI.
1821.

lace, sank under this deep humiliation: she was soon afterwards attacked with an obstruction of the bowels, which, in her state of mind and body, brought on mortification, and terminated fatally the seventh of August: but even in death, the unconquerable will and ruling passion still remained: she ordered that her remains should not be left in England, but carried to her native land; and that the inscription on her tomb should be,—‘Here lies Caroline of Brunswick, the injured queen of England.’

Before the unexpected event of her majesty’s decease took place, the king had made arrangements to visit Ireland, and it was not thought proper to interrupt them: on Saturday, the eleventh of August, his majesty embarked on board the Lightning steam-packet, and on the following afternoon disembarked at Howth: being quickly recognised, he was welcomed by the warm-hearted inhabitants, who for so many years had never seen a king on their shores in the garb of peace, with a delirium of joy: nor was the homage he received less gratifying to the monarch because it was unthinking and abject: he cordially acknowledged the greeting of the multitude, shaking hands with many, and appearing to enjoy the humor of the moment in the absence of etiquette. The populace escorted him to the steps of the vice-regal lodge, whence he addressed them in very energetic language:—‘this,’ said his majesty, ‘is one of the happiest days of my life: I have long wished to visit you: my heart has always been Irish: from the day it first beat, I have loved Ireland; and this day has shown me that I am beloved by my Irish subjects: rank, station, honors, are nothing; but to feel that I live in the hearts of my Irish subjects, is to me the most exalted happiness.’ The public authorities were presented at a private levee on the fifteenth; and the great seemed to participate in the rapture of the lower orders, on the arrival of a sovereign, whose affability delighted them: the most extravagant hopes of national and individual benefit from this visit were entertained by all ranks; while the more sage and politic counsellors who ac-

King’s visit
to Ireland.

CHAP.
LXI.
1821.

accompanied their sovereign, began to feel much anxiety, and to exert peculiar vigilance, lest his feelings should hurry him into expressions which discretion might lament. The king's public entry into Dublin occurred on the seventeenth, when his majesty wore the riband of the order of St. Patrick, and took possession of the castle for the remainder of his stay: on the twenty-third, he dined with the lord mayor; but his chief, if not only private visit, was to Slane castle, the residence of lord Conyngham: in the course of the evening which he spent there, despatches were received, announcing the riots at the funeral procession of the queen; and he is said to have expressed, in somewhat contemptuous terms, his dissatisfaction at the want of arrangement and energy on the part of ministers; between whom and his majesty a want of cordiality had for some time existed; owing, as was supposed, to the intrigues of the marchioness of Conyngham in favor of the whig party. The following are the circumstances which led to the present disapprobation: her majesty's body, according to her will, was to be carried to Brunswick for interment; and the first stage, toward Harwich, where it was to cross the sea, was to Romford in Essex: now the road to that place from Brandenburg-house led through the heart of the capital, by her husband's palace, and St. Paul's cathedral: ministers, therefore, in their anxiety to prevent the corpse from proceeding in such a direction, endeavored to force it up a narrow street or lane, so that it might reach the northern outskirts of London, and thus get into the Romford road, without occasioning any popular commotion; to effect which, a sufficient number of troops was placed at the command of those who had the conduct of this affair: but the people, by tearing up the pavement, making trenches in the road, and blocking up all other avenues, actually obliged the funeral procession to take the forbidden route: a conflict at the upper gate of Hyde-park took place between the military and the people, when two of the latter were shot dead by the soldiers: the procession moved on, and the contest was renewed; but the mob

eventually triumphed; and the hearse, after having been driven up and down various streets like an artillery-waggon, with the most unseemly velocity, was forced into the city, where the lord mayor and other authorities joined the procession; the shops being closed, and the bells of the different churches tolling. In the course of the affray, sir Robert Wilson remonstrated with some soldiers and an officer on duty; and his humane but unmilitary interference subsequently deprived him of his commission: the directing civil magistrate also, who consulted humanity in preference to his orders, and for the prevention of bloodshed yielded to the desire of the multitude, was dismissed from his office. Such were the commotions, and such the cause of them, in the British metropolis, while the king was enjoying the pleasures of Irish conviviality, and acquiring an ascendancy over party-spirit in that ill-used and misgoverned country: this, if he had resolved at once to adopt a liberal and decisive policy, might have preserved his image stamped as a benefactor on the very heart of the nation: but contenting himself with a proclamation exhorting the people to concord, and with a reiteration of the plaudits which had greeted his arrival, George IV. departed on the seventh of September, and, disembarking on the thirteenth at Milford Haven, proceeded immediately to London.

At this time, lord Talbot was chief governor of Ireland; a nobleman much esteemed for his private character, but with no recommendation for so high an office, beyond his known sentiments, favorable to an exclusive protestant ascendancy: his secretary was Mr. Charles Grant, a man of deep religious feeling, liberal principles, and fine talents; whose appointment seemed a pledge to the great majority of the people for a concession of privileges: but a government, administered on this miserable system of counteraction, was peculiarly inapplicable to Ireland, and soon produced its natural effects in that distracted country: all expectations formed from the king's visit were fatally disappointed; the excitement of the period soon sub-

CHAP.
LXI.
1821.

sided; and the sanguine people, experiencing no immediate good from his majesty's presence, agreed to attribute many of their existing evils to that cause. Poverty and misery awakened discontent and lawless violence: flames were kindled, and the most diabolical outrages perpetrated; while religious discord inflamed the wounds of political animosity: executions, imprisonments, and a military occupation of several counties were unavailing to repress tumults, or to prevent the dreadful conflagrations and sanguinary struggles to which they gave origin: the lord-lieutenant was recalled; a special commission was sent into the disturbed districts; and exemplary punishments were employed to terrify those whom authority could not restrain.

King's
visit to
Hanover.

His majesty had scarcely returned from Ireland, before he encountered the fatigues of another expedition. Having embarked, on the twentieth of September, at Gravesend, he landed at Calais; and, travelling through Lisle, Brussels, Osnaburg, and Nieuburg, entered the capital of his Hanoverian dominions on the eleventh of October, under a salute of 101 guns: accompanied by his royal brothers, the dukes of Cumberland and Cambridge, he spent ten days in that ancient city, where he accommodated himself strictly to the manners of the people, speaking German, and wearing the Guelphic order; reviewing the military, and receiving civic deputations; visiting the university of Gottingen, and joining in a grand hunting party at Diester. Having undergone the ceremony of another coronation, he departed from this portion of his dominions, leaving behind him lively impressions of his private affability and condescension, where he had publicly established for himself the proudest of all titles—that of a patriot king.

We must not omit to mention a striking instance of his majesty's liberality and attention to the interests of learning, which he this year exhibited in the foundation of the Royal Society of Literature; not only conferring on that institution the distinction of a charter, but the more solid advantage of £1000

per annum for pensions to ten honorary members: premiums also were founded for the encouragement of compositions in prose and verse; and the society, whose records already contain a large mass of valuable information, boasts many of the most illustrious names in the literary world among its associates and contributors.

CHAP.
LXI.
1821.

Though the members of the holy alliance had totally suppressed Neapolitan revolutions, the new order of things continued in Spain, because the royal confederates were unable to reach the seat of the disease, and stifle its progress, without the active co-operation of France, and the sufferance of Great Britain: the system itself, however, had but little claim to respect, being neither a monarchy nor a republic; and the consequence of so defective a state of administration soon became visible. In May, the Cortes of Portugal opened their session; and in July, the king, returning from Brazil, accepted, and swore to maintain, the constitution: in essential points the plan of government coincided with that of Spain; but in some particulars it circumscribed the royal authority still more. In northern Europe, the Russian autocrat, bent on extending his power, and not content with the large territories which he possessed in two quarters of the world, determined to push forward his dominions into a third. By an ukase of September the sixteenth, Russia appropriated to herself the north-west coast of America, from Beering's Straits to 51° north latitude, and the Kurile isles, as far as Urup, 45° north latitude; prohibiting foreign navigation in the vicinity, as well as on the coast. But the most important feature in foreign politics was the insurrection in Greece, the first step to independence in that interesting state; which, if properly settled and enlarged, might be made as important a barrier to Europe against the advance of Russian hordes, as unhappy Poland once offered against the Turks.

Foreign
transac-
tions.

For ages past, the miserable Greeks, trodden under foot by their merciless oppressors, had looked up to European states, but looked in vain, for liberty: at

CHAP.
LXI.
—
1821.

length, after many instances of delusive hopes held out, which only plunged them deeper into calamity, they made the important discovery, that they who would be free, themselves must strike the blow: accordingly, at the conclusion of the late war, this energetic nation, which expected that the congress of Vienna would work a change in its affairs, finding these hopes disappointed, resolved to take measures for emancipating itself: in consequence, a secret society, called the Hetæria, the origin of which is involved in considerable mystery, assumed a more decidedly political character, extending its ramifications through the various districts of European Turkey: it soon included men of the greatest note in all those quarters; but was embraced by no persons with greater enthusiasm than by Greek soldiers of fortune, in the pay of England, France, and Russia; who, when disbanded, bore with extreme impatience a renewed subjection to Turkish despotism, and were ready to throw themselves into the arms of any party which spoke to them of vengeance. Reflecting on the Greek character, we should wonder how this extensive conspiracy could have remained so long concealed, did we not know that the stupidity of the Moslems in such matters was fully equal to the levity of their helots: nevertheless, the projects of the Hetærists were several times in great peril; and never more so than in the summer of 1818; when, not only their secret, but the whole plan of the Greek revolution was revealed to captain W. H. Smyth, R.N.,⁴ who considered himself

⁴ See Marshall's *Naval Biography*, vol. v. p. 154. It would be wrong to pass over the name of this distinguished officer without setting forth his example as an encouragement for others to honorable and persevering exertions in their profession. Captain Smyth, who had passed through a most laborious and brilliant career during the late war, was left, at its close, a lieutenant, without interest or any other prospect of advancement, except in the resources of a vigorous, intelligent mind, highly adapted to scientific pursuits; knowing therefore how imperfect were the surveys which had hitherto been made of the coasts of the Mediterranean, he procured a Sicilian gun-boat, and carried on very extensive hydrographical operations, connecting Barbary, Sicily, and Italy, intirely on his own means, and without any official instructions. His labors however did not escape notice; and when submitted to the admiralty, created such admiration, that before the close of 1815 he was advanced to the rank of commander; and it was determined to engrave the most important portion of his surveys: accordingly, his *Atlas of Sicily*, with an accompanying memoir, has been published, and extensively

in duty bound to disclose it to our government, through sir Thomas Maitland, then governor of the Ionian islands: they escaped, however, this, as well as other imminent dangers; and, fortunately for the Greeks, their cause excited a favorable interest in some of the cabinets, and in all the nations of Europe, which preserved them from such interference as had been exhibited at Naples, and was preparing against Spain: their only virulent opponents were the Castlereagh party in England, and the cabinet of Vienna; but the former was soon paralysed by the death of its leader, and the expression of public feeling; though 'the Austrians,' as I have elsewhere observed, 'appear, throughout the whole contest, both publicly and privately, to have done all in their power to increase the evils of suffering christians, to stifle the spirit of liberty in its birth, and to amalgamate their own cause with that of ruthless Mussulmen, impalers of mankind.'⁵

CHAP.
LXI.
1821.

As the disturbed state of Ireland was now the most prominent object of public interest, it formed the principal topic of his majesty's speech at the opening of parliament, on the fifth of February. On a principle of political conciliation, the marquis Wellesley had already been appointed lord-lieutenant of that country; and the attorney-general Saurin, the champion of the Orange party, was removed to make way for Mr. Plunkett, that eloquent advocate of catholic emancipation. From the high character of the chief governor, great expectations were formed; but the evils of the old system were too firmly rooted in the soil to be suddenly eradicated: the plan of counter-action was still suffered to exist in the appointment

Disturb-
ances in
Ireland.

circulated, not only in England, but in most other European nations. Captain Smyth subsequently accompanied lord Exmouth to Algiers, and was engaged in curious researches on the northern shores of Africa, relating to their antiquities, as well as to subjects of a political nature: he was also much employed by sir Thomas Maitland and sir Frederic Adam in the affairs of the Ionian islands; and returned home with an honorable fame, which he has increased by continued exertions in the cause of science, as well as of his peculiar profession; building an observatory at his own house in Bedford, and making observations which have established his character as one of the first practical astronomers of the age. He was made post-captain in 1824, and is president of the Astronomical Society.

⁵ Travels in Sicily, Greece, and Albania, 8vo edit. vol. ii. p. 299.

CHAP.
LXI.
—
1821.

of Mr. Goulburn, as Irish secretary; and while the disabilities of so large a majority of the population remained, all endeavors to conciliate and impartially control both parties, only irritated that which government had usually favored, without satisfying the expectations of the other. To repress the spirit of lawless outrage, which was desolating this unhappy portion of the empire, the marquis of Londonderry, who had succeeded to the title at his father's death, introduced and carried two bills for arming the Irish administration with additional powers;—the insurrection act, and the suspension of the *habeas corpus*: several members of opposition, among whom lord Lansdowne, sir John Newport, and Mr. Hume were conspicuous, attempted, during the session, to induce parliament to inquire into the state of Ireland, but without success; and, notwithstanding the new powers granted to the executive arm, and the energy with which they were exerted, dreadful scenes of nocturnal outrage continued unabated, until the districts in which they chiefly occurred were visited by the still more frightful scourges of famine and disease.

Famine in
Ireland.

In the preceding year, the potatoe crop, on which the Irish peasantry almost wholly depended, had been very deficient; and this deficiency began to be severely felt after the disturbed state of the country had suspended the operations of industry, and deprived the working people of employment: while corn, therefore, and the better sorts of food were plentiful, the poorer classes were unable to procure sustenance of any kind, and were literally starving in the midst of abundance: the aggravated horrors of this misery soon produced a fever of the typhus kind, which, spreading rapidly among the wretched cabins of the country, carried off their inhabitants by thousands. The conduct of government was prompt and benevolent: £500,000 were instantly placed at the disposal of lord Wellesley, to be dispensed in charitable relief, or in employing the people on works of public utility: a still more effectual aid was supplied by the generosity of the British nation; subscriptions for the relief of their

suffering brethren in Ireland being opened in almost every town, and collections made in churches and other places of public worship: under the management of a central committee in London, these contributions of christian charity were applied extensively to the relief of those who must otherwise have perished. Among the numerous instances of indefatigable exertion exhibited by the superior classes in Ireland, that of the archbishop of Tuam was above all praise; the conduct of the primate also was noble; but the scanty contributions of the great absentee landholders occasioned great and merited animadversion at the time, and was brought forward as no contemptible argument for establishing a system of poor laws, suited to the condition of the Irish people.

CHAP.
LXI.
1822.

At the commencement of this year, the commerce and manufactures of Great Britain manifested a visible improvement; but the continued distress of the agriculturists, whose interests appeared to be still farther depressed by an unexampled fall in prices through seasons of abundant produce, led to some modifications in the state of political parties: at many county meetings previous to the present session of parliament, both landholders and farmers had loudly expressed their complaints; and the country gentlemen generally took such a part in this question, by uniting with whigs and reformers in a call for retrenchment and remission of taxation, that the treasury bench began to feel alarm: this drove them to the expedient of strengthening their ranks by opening the doors of office to the Grenville party; which, though not united with the whigs, was generally opposed to ministers: nor did it require much tact or delicacy to throw the bait before those eager aspirants after place and pension:⁶ As lord Grenville, the political head of the party, had retired from public life, the marquis of Buckingham was gratified by a ducal coronet; and Mr. Charles Wynne was made president of the board

Changes in
the cabinet.

⁶ 'All articles,' said lord Holland on this occasion, 'are to be had at low prices, except Grenvilles.' Their accession was looked upon with a jealous eye by the ministerial section attached to the lord chancellor, whose anti-catholic fears were much excited.

CHAP.
LXI.
1822.

of control: but a far greater accession of strength, because of talent, was gained in the exchange of lord Sidmouth for Mr. Peel, as secretary of state for the home department: his lordship however was permitted to retain his seat in the cabinet, shut for the present against Mr. Canning, whose part in the late proceedings respecting the queen had created feelings of resentment in the king's mind; and whose general principles of policy were the aversion of him who held the king's conscience in his keeping: but the eminent services, rendered by this gentleman to the East India company, as president of the board of control, and the high opinion which they entertained of his character, induced them to confer on him the appointment of governor-general: the regret however which Mr. Canning felt at losing the opportunity to serve his country in the manner most gratifying to himself, and in a station better suited to the display of his talents and principles, was scarcely soothed even by the brilliant prospect of fame and fortune held out to him in another hemisphere, where the destinies of eighty millions of human beings would depend on his administration: even to the last, he continued in a disturbed state of mind on this subject; and the vacillation of his feelings was strikingly displayed in a farewell speech to his constituents at Liverpool. Wishing perhaps to give *éclat* to his departure from the scene of his glory, he, on the thirtieth of April, moved in the house of commons for leave to bring in a bill for restoring the right of sitting and voting in parliament to Roman catholic peers:⁷ his speech, on this occasion, was a splendid combination of genius and taste; and hard as was the task for one who had spoken so often and so well on this subject, to find new sources of eloquence, the accomplished orator did not yield to the difficulty of his situation: seizing happily on the ceremony of the late coronation, he asked;—‘Do you imagine it never occurred to the representatives of Europe then con-

⁷ Lord Eldon, on this occasion, observed upon Canning's plea—that the peers should be first restored, because they were last excluded—‘the *papist king* was the *last* excluded.’

templating this imposing spectacle, that it never occurred to the ambassadors of catholic Austria, of catholic France, or of states more bigoted, if there be any more bigoted, to the catholic religion, to reflect, that the moment this solemn ceremony was over, the duke of Norfolk would become disseized of the exercise of his privileges among his fellow peers? stripped of his robes of office, which were to be laid aside, and hung up, until the distant (be it a very distant!) day, when the coronation of a successor to his present most gracious sovereign should again call him forth to assist at a similar solemnisation? Thus, after being exhibited to the peers and people of England, to the representatives of princes and nations of the world,—the duke of Norfolk, highest in rank among our peers—the lord Clifford, and others like him, representing a long line of illustrious and heroic ancestors,—appeared as if they had been called forth and furnished for the occasion, like the lustres and banners that flamed and glittered in the scene; and were to be, like them, thrown by as useless and temporary formalities: they might indeed bend the knee, and kiss the hand; they might bear the train, or rear the canopy; they might perform the offices assigned by Roman pride to their barbarian forefathers,—*Purpurea tollant aulaea Britannici*: but with the pageantry of the hour, their importance faded away: as their distinction vanished, their humiliation returned; and he who headed the procession of peers to-day, could not sit among them, as their equal, on the morrow.’

He was strongly opposed by Mr. Peel; who professed himself unable to see any reason for exempting Roman catholic peers from political restrictions, to which a whole community, professing the same religious tenets, were by law subject. Mr. Wetherell was against partial concessions: if this bill passed, commoners would naturally expect to be admitted next year into parliament, without restrictions; he would rather deal with the measure *in toto*, than in this mutilated form: it however passed the commons by a majority of five, but was rejected on the second

CHAP.
LXI.
1822.

reading in the upper house; where it was introduced by the duke of Portland, and vigorously opposed by the lord chancellor, who declared that this bill demanded nothing more nor less than unlimited concession to the Roman catholics. 'Give them this,' said he, 'and you can hereafter resist nothing which you ought to resist.'

As the small corps of Grenvillites, which had joined their ranks, could not support ministers if deserted by the country gentlemen, it became necessary to take steps for conciliating the landed interests, which were at this time pressed on their notice by frequent petitions to both houses: when Mr. Brougham, therefore, in order to try the temper of parties, moved, early in the session, that it was the duty of the house to relieve agricultural distress by a reduction of taxes, lord Londonderry met this covert attack on ministers, with an assurance that they intended to propose measures for that purpose; and as by this pledge he prevailed on the country gentlemen to afford him their usual support, the motion was negatived. Aware that the cause of distress was not to be remedied by legislative enactments, but feeling the necessity of throwing out a tub to the whale, his lordship soon afterwards proposed the re-appointment of the agricultural committee; and, on receiving its report, submitted to the house a plan of relief; the principal heads of which were, a repeal of the annual malt duty, and a loan of £1,000,000 in exchequer bills to the landed interest, on the security of warehoused corn: it was also enacted, that, when wheat should reach the price of eighty shillings a quarter, at which foreign produce became importable under the existing law, a new scale of duties should be brought into permanent operation. The chancellor of the exchequer, at the same time, brought forward two financial operations: the first was a reduction of the navy five per cents. to stock carrying only four per cent.; the holders having the option of being paid off at par, or of accepting the lower rate of interest, with a small increase of capital as a bonus: £140,000,000 of stock were thus

commuted, which effected a saving to the public of more than £1,200,000 per annum: the second was a plan to diminish the present charge for naval and military half-pay and civil pensions, known in financial jargon under the name of the dead weight; by extending it in the form of annuities over a period of forty-five years, instead of allowing it to be gradually extinguished through the death of annuitants. The whole project was like the expedient of a spendthrift, to obtain a little present relief at a ruinous but future cost; and it could only be effected by inducing some great monied corporation to contract for payment of the amount of pensions until their gradual expiration, for a certain fixed annuity: the scheme appeared fallacious to many members, and unintelligible to others; nevertheless, it was passed by the house: but the great capitalists were not so readily convinced; the chancellor of the exchequer was obliged to remodel his plan; and the arrangement was completed in the following year by a bargain with the Bank of England.

When the estimates of expenditure for the year came under consideration, ministers felt themselves obliged to yield in many instances to the expressed wishes of the house: early in this session, the opposition had been defeated by a small majority of four only, in a motion to repeal the salt duty; and being now encouraged by the co-operation of many among the landed proprietors, they commenced a series of attacks on the cabinet, and forced several of its outposts: thus, a motion by sir M. W. Ridley, for the reduction of two out of seven lords of the admiralty, was carried against ministers by a large majority; and a second defeat was inflicted on them by lord Normanby, who proposed an address to the throne for dismissing one of the two postmasters-general. Encouraged by this success, the opposition now determined to assail one of the strongest works in the citadel of corruption, the diplomatic expenditure of the country: here, however, lord Londonderry took his stand; declaring, that if the house persisted in going into a committee on that subject, it would be

CHAP.
LXI.

1822.

Debates
on the
currency.

the signal for breaking up the administration: this menace had the desired effect of dividing the enemy's forces; the country gentlemen, though anxious for retrenchment, and irritated against ministers, were not willing to push their antagonists into office; so that the motions for inquiry were rejected by very large majorities.

In the present unexampled state of agricultural distress, Mr. Western brought forward a motion on the subject of our currency, the alteration of which he assigned as the chief cause of the calamity; since it operated injuriously on all classes except the fundholder and annuitant, and by its ruinous effects on private contracts, as well as public payments, was calculated to endanger property of every description: he felt surprised, that the country had so long viewed with indifference an advance of ten, fifteen, or twenty per cent. on our unparalleled taxation; most of which, as well as a large proportion of the debt, had arisen under a depreciated currency; and he concluded, by moving for a committee to inquire into the effect which the act of 1819, for resumption of cash payments by the bank, had produced on our manufacturing and commercial interests. After Mr. Huskisson had replied at considerable length to the honorable member's propositions, and insisted particularly on the danger of taking so fluctuating an article as corn for a standard of the circulating medium; he moved, as an amendment, 'that this house will not in any way alter the standard of gold and silver:' the debate was then adjourned to the following day, when Mr. Grey Bennet argued in favor of the motion, hoping that the principle of an equitable adjustment might be discovered. Mr. Ricardo trusted, that no step would be taken to affect the existing law concerning cash payments: he admitted that great difficulties had resulted from the efforts made to return to sound principles, and he was not sorry that they had arisen; they would prevent that house from again having recourse to measures which so seriously affected the currency: after several other members had delivered

their opinions on this important topic, Mr. secretary Peel rose, and said, 'that he would not enter on the discussion of abstract subjects: from the reasonings of gentlemen, down to the speech of the honorable member for Westminster, he was at a loss to guess the objects of the committee: the honorable baronet fairly stated, that the real object of the motion was to repeal the bill of 1819: he had declared, that the aim of the honorable gentleman (Mr. Western) was to establish a new standard of value, and to reduce the value of one pound to fourteen shillings; but the house, he hoped, would pause, before they adopted a proposition for reducing the value of our currency by one-third. An honorable gentleman had talked of establishing and securing the foundations of public prosperity; but what would be the consequence tomorrow, if that night they adopted his proposition? men of common sense would buy up every guinea in the country; the whole of our mercantile transactions would be disturbed, and all private contracts be open to inquiry and defeat. Seven or eight years had already elapsed, since the house pledged itself to return to the ancient standard of value: in 1814, the house came to a resolution, that the Bank of England ought to return to cash payments: in 1816, when his right honorable friend proposed a resolution on the subject, the late Mr. Horner would not consent, until an express declaration was made, that the legislature would see that cash payments should soon be resumed; and his proposition was accordingly adopted: but the restriction was continued, to enable the bank to resume cash payments with greater convenience; so that since 1814, the country was accommodating itself to this new state of things; and after having accomplished that object, the house was told that the intent of the honorable gentleman's motion was, to reduce the value of money from twenty to fourteen shillings. With respect to the situation of the public creditor, he had been paid in a depreciated currency: the public creditor lent his money in 1798 and 1800, on the understanding, that when the bank restriction should expire,

CHAP.
LXI.
—
1822.

he would be intitled to his demand in the ancient standard of value; if the house, therefore, were to come to any adjustment of the nature proposed, undoubtedly the creditor would have a right, and would demand, the full payment of his debt. It should be recollected, that a great number of persons held debentures, who were not the original purchasers, but had bought them for a full and valuable consideration: could the government turn round to those persons, and say;—the original holder gave for this debenture only eighty pounds; you gave ninety-five pounds; but we will not pay you more than eighty pounds? He (Mr. Peel) would say, that if the house were to proceed on this principle, there would be an end for ever to the very idea of national faith;—that faith, which had carried us through every difficulty, and which constituted the pride, the glory, and the support of this country.'

But although parliament wisely determined not to interfere with our currency, the fall of prices at this time became so alarming to all classes who suffered by the ruin of agriculturists, and bankruptcies in consequence became so numerous, that ministers felt obliged to relax in their grand measure, and give the nation a little more breathing time to recover itself. Peel's bill had provided, that the issue of one or two pound notes, whether by the Bank of England, or by provincial firms, should cease in May 1823; a precaution necessary to guard the bank against a constant drain of its gold for exportation; and which it never could have supplied, if every private banker had been permitted to circulate small notes at pleasure, and lower the value of the currency: ministers, however, had come to the resolution of repealing that part of the bill of 1819, which confined the issue of small notes to the period of 1823; and an act in consequence was introduced into parliament and carried this session, by which the privilege of issuing such notes was extended for ten years more, till January 1833.^s The bank had good reason for complaining of

^s Subsequently an act passed, limiting the period to April, 1829.

this measure; since its directors had accumulated a very large stock of gold, and now found the treasure thrown on their hands, and of little use, except to be disposed of at a less price than it cost: but with the above-mentioned change, symptoms of returning prosperity appeared in the nation: country bankers now increased their issues of paper; and, as farmers obtained a higher price for their produce, rents advanced, trade profited by the home market, and the whole country, before the period of 1825, had assumed so smiling, though illusory an appearance, that the chancellor of the exchequer, at the opening of his budget, took occasion to congratulate the house on that extraordinary degree of prosperity before them, to which he could see no assignable limit: the interesting and important nature however of this subject demands a little more space for its investigation.

During the late war, reduction in the value of money greatly altered the contract between landlord and tenant, to the advantage of the latter; and this advantage happened to be progressive: holders of land came to be considered as the most prosperous class in the community, and the natural consequence was a keen competition for land at advanced rents; it having been found advantageous for a tenant to agree to pay a rent beyond the rate of the time, because the alteration in the value of currency secured him from loss. Thus rents were raised; until, in 1814, they were calculated to average one pound per acre, on forty millions of acres, in Great Britain: at the same time, these forty millions of rent would command no more of the common commodities of life than twenty millions would have done in 1793, supposing the currency reduced fifty per cent. in value: in this period, therefore, the rise was almost nominal; and the advance of nominal rent only compensated landlords for a reduction in the value of the currency, and the additional taxes which they had to pay. But, after this period, the tide of value began to turn: the cause of depreciation was removed, and gold began to regain an exchangeable value in this country, nearer to an equality

CHAP.
LXI.
1822.

Statistical
review.

CHAP.
LXI.

1822.

with that which it had in other European nations; and if rents had fallen in amount as money rose in value, the productive part of the community would have felt no injurious effects from the alterations in rent, since only the same quantities of wealth would have been taken from them. Rents, however, did not fall, but remained at, or nearly at, the same nominal value; while those sums represented much larger quantities of wealth.

A principal cause of this was the tenacity with which tenants adhered to farms, through ignorance of the real nature of their situation. Farming had been so profitable an occupation, that men clung to it, in the natural hope that it would become so again: of the causes which had reduced the value of money, or of those which were then raising it, the farmers, as a body, knew nothing: they kept their ground therefore as well as they could; and by a general concurrence, as it were, rents, once paid in a currency of low value, were retained in a higher. The removal of the depreciation took place when the farmers retained much of the large profit made during a previous period; and they were therefore better able to bear that blow: the rise in the value of gold was more gradual, and gave them more time to adjust themselves to their reduced condition; their ability to pay their laborers became of course reduced also; their ingenuity was exercised in paring down wages to the lowest possible rate; and more laborers fell into the ranks of pauperism: thus the farmers, the poor laborers, and the parish officers, struggled on under increasing difficulties; the prices of articles consumed by paupers declined; but the sums necessary to give them relief continued equally large.

The burden of tithes too increased at the same time; for they now became much more than a tenth of the returns for the profit of capital, and the wages of labor employed on the land: they became a tenth of the crop, when that crop was enhanced in value by the high rent; and they commanded in the market a sixth, if not a fifth, of the labor and capital value: from

the produce of an acre, which would sell for eighty shillings, twenty shillings would be paid for rent, and eight for tithes; but this eight shillings would be, not one-tenth of the wages and profits, but a sixth and a half part; since eight shillings tithe is the sixth and a half part of fifty-two shillings, the sum left for wages and profit after paying the rent and tithe: from this fifty-two shillings, must also be deducted enough to procure seed for the next year, and to keep up the farming stock, &c.; so that the tithe might be stated at about one-fifth of the wages and profit: hence this burden began to cause more complaint than formerly; for it was more felt: while cultivators suffer under heavy taxes and high rents, the burden of tithe is greatly increased by them; hence the popular discontent at this impost, and the benefit, or rather necessity, of a system of commutation for the sake of the clergy themselves: but the effects did not rest with the agricultural class: neither capital nor labor willingly remain struggling with difficulties, if they can escape from them; and while the manufacturing and commercial classes were in a better condition, capital and labor would be, to a greater or less extent, passing from agriculture to manufactures and commerce; and this would continue till competition had reduced all those classes nearly to a level; when this result took place, it was found that, although the price of landed produce was low, compared with what it had been in a currency of lower value; yet it was high, compared with the prices of manufactures: reduction in the quantity, and increase in the value, of money, caused prices generally to fall; but they fell less in landed produce than in manufactures, because it was loaded with heavy taxes, in high rent and tithe; the farmer consequently sold his produce high as compared with manufactures, for the same reason as the maltster sold his malt at a higher price than the barley-grower sold his grain: both parties, having to pay taxes, in addition to the common cost in the profit and wages of the time, as established by competition, were obliged to charge the taxes in the price of their respec-

CHAP.
LXI.
1822.

tive articles. The manufacturers complained loudly of this, and demanded a free trade in corn; but the landed proprietors had a predominating influence in the legislature; and the distress which the farmers had really experienced, was made a pretext to compel all classes to purchase produce from the highly rented and tithed lands of Great Britain.

A great stimulus with landholders to retain high rents, was the circumstance of their being all burdened with taxes; and a large majority of them under obligation to pay fixed annuities or interest for money on mortgage and other securities borrowed in a currency of low value: men so circumstanced, with large definite sums to pay, must keep up their rentals, or the incumbrances will sweep away their property; a case, which at this period frequently occurred: it should also be recollected, that the different parties concerned were not aware of any alteration having taken place in the value of the money paid and received; for they had their attention fixed merely on the market price of corn. Landlords, as well as tenants, wished only for high prices; and the common language of the latter was,—‘We mind not the amount of rent, let us only have high prices restored:’ to accomplish this point, various expedients were recommended: corn-laws, paper money, and a different system of banking were proposed, and, to a greater or less extent, adopted; but without accomplishing the desired object: it now cost more labor or goods to obtain a given quantity of gold: and therefore more labor or goods would exchange for that quantity of gold: if paper money was forced into circulation to excess, the quantity of currency became more than our command over the gold in the great market of the world would sustain, and gold separated itself from the paper; paper sank in value below gold, and was returned on its issuers; and thus it was again raised to a level with gold: or a part of the gold left the country; the currency remained that quantity which was determined by the reduced command over gold; and a low range of money prices was established accordingly.

From 1821 to 1824 Bank of England notes in circulation were reduced by more than £4,000,000 sterling; but as the bank was known to have issued much more than that sum in coin, no reduction, as far as it was concerned, had been made in the whole quantity of currency: if a part of the coin so issued left the country, this showed, that from some cause or other, our quantity of currency was greater than could be supported by the degree of command we had over the gold market of the world; and therefore the quantity was reduced by gold flowing out.

Peel's bill, by making the Bank of England liable to pay its notes in gold, obliged it, and consequently all other banks, to keep the amount of their issues within the natural amount of the currency: thus it prevented depreciation, and a rise of prices consequent on that depreciation: this was the extent of its effects as far as respected prices; and any farther alterations in them are attributable to other causes. When the price of wheat this year fell lower than it had been since the commencement of the late war, the causes to which it might be attributed were similar to those that were in operation in 1814 and 1815; namely, the great extent of land cultivated, an abundance of produce, and a withdrawal of the accommodation of country bank notes: it was one of the oscillations of that state of things which at one time produced cheap gold and a cheaper paper currency; high money prices, with very high farming profits; and, as a consequence, country bank notes in abundance during agricultural prosperity, which fed the farmer when he was in a state of repletion, but withheld supplies from him when in want: this accordingly was a period of severe distress to agriculturists.

The manufacturing classes were, for the time, benefited by the low price of landed produce; for though the wages of inferior workmen decreased, they did not fall in proportion to provisions: but by the year 1824 this advantage was lost, as the wages paid for weaving gave no greater command over food than in 1820. Within this period, the quantity of manufactures was

CHAP.
LXI.
1822.

greatly increased;⁹ but such increase was not attended with a corresponding advantage to individuals or to the country, since the foreign consumer obtained the articles at a cheaper rate: an extension of manufactures, in a natural and ordinary way, by improvement in the modes of production, and through increased demand, may offer a fair subject of exultation; but if that extension be stimulated, and pushed farther on, by reducing agricultural laborers to a state of wretchedness, and driving them to take refuge in manufacturing districts, there to work at low wages, it may turn out an alarming evil.

The sum expended at this period for the relief of the poor indicated any thing but improvement in the condition of the laborers: even if the increase of population be taken into the account, that expended in 1821, when wheat was fifty-four shillings and five pence per quarter, was £6,358,703; while in 1813, when wheat was 120 shillings, it was only £6,294,584; the sum raised in 1821 being equivalent to double the quantity of wheat then, that the sum raised in 1813 was to wheat of that period; and in 1822 the proportion was still greater.

In the mean time, the rate of profit on capital was falling, as it had continued to fall, since the war; which the prices of the public funds plainly indicated: the three per cent. consols, which in 1815 stood at fifty-eight, reached eighty in 1823, and ninety-four in the following year; and this alteration in the rate of interest corresponded with an alteration in the rate of profit, first experienced in the circulating, and finally in the whole, capital of the country: under favorable circumstances, this decline in the rate of profit would have been accompanied by a rise of wages; but under existing circumstances, unfavorable causes counteracted that advantage: yet though it did not cause a positive rise in wages, it kept them higher than they would otherwise have been: if high profit had been added to the other baneful influences which

⁹ In 1820, above 125,000,000 of pounds of raw cotton were used; in 1822, above 144,000,000; and in 1824, above 174,000,000.

kept down wages, the laboring classes would have been in a dreadful condition: the fall in the rate of profit was a consequence of the over-abundance of capital: when the loan-system, with its unproductive expenditure, ceased, wealth was left in the hands of its accumulators; to make a profitable use of it, they must either employ it themselves as capital, or place it for that purpose in the hands of others: capital thus became more plentiful in the various departments of production; and the competition of capitalists lowered the rate of the profit that could be obtained for its use.

Ministers were too prudent to disregard the temper shown by the house in their recent defeats, when the financial arrangements for the year were completed: after having wisely resisted the abolition of the salt tax, they now announced an intention of lowering it from fifteen to two shillings a bushel, although no impost was less severely felt, and no article was more widely diffused throughout the community; two circumstances which ought peculiarly to recommend a tax:¹⁰ beside the annual duty on malt, the additional tax on leather, with that on windows and hearths in Ireland, was also remitted; and by these means a reduction of taxation was effected to the amount of about £3,500,000. Reduction
of imposts.

Among other important proceedings may be noticed the passing of several bills to relax our navigation laws, and promote the system of free trade: the times of monopoly, prohibitions, and the many vexations connected with them, were now rapidly passing by; and it was seen, that the future greatness of England could not be maintained by worn-out ineffective institutions. The loudest outcry against this relaxation was raised by the ship-owners, who affirmed, that a repeal of the ancient navigation laws would enable other states to outstrip our own, and prepare our ruin; as if the ship, which is but the means of commerce, was to be regarded as the end: it is however satis-

¹⁰ Wherever this article was wanted extensively for the purposes of trade or husbandry, a drawback had been properly allowed.

CHAP.
LXI.
1822.

factory to find that time has shown the vanity of these predictions; for the relaxation of duties, by which we have been brought nearer to free trade, far from increasing foreign competition, and diminishing British production, has led to results exactly the reverse—the decrease of foreign importation, and the increase of our domestic manufactures, attended by an augmented importation of the raw material.

Motion
for parlia-
mentary
reform.

Lord John Russell did not suffer this session to elapse, without calling attention, in a very long and able speech, to the important question of parliamentary reform; the chief feature in his plan being a proposed addition of 100 members to the house of commons, to be returned by the counties and larger towns; a suitable curtailment being effected, by divesting the smaller boroughs of half the privileges which they enjoyed. Such was the scheme, which, if adopted, might have long deferred the more comprehensive plan which finally was carried; but his lordship's moderate proposal was met by strenuous opposition, especially from Mr. Canning, who dwelt at great length on the difference between this and Mr. Pitt's plan; which latter, indeed, as if it had been intended only to delude, avoided all coercion; and treating a sacred trust as private property, proposed the establishment of a large fund to purchase boroughs from their proprietors! The honorable gentleman, having gone through his round of arguments in favor of that system which he found to 'work so well,' urged the house to oppose every introduction of visionary schemes; and asserted, that a search after abstract perfection in government is not an object of reasonable pursuit, because it is not one of possible attainment. 'I conjure the noble lord,' he said, 'to pause before he again presses his plan on the country: if, however, he shall persevere, and if his perseverance shall be successful, and if the results of that success be such as I cannot help apprehending;—his be the triumph, to have precipitated those results; mine be the consolation, that to the utmost, and the latest of my power, I have opposed them.' On a division, ayes were 164, noes

269; and this decreasing majority was received with loud and repeated cheers by the opposition: the proposal of a general resolution by Mr. Brougham, on the influence of the crown, which was introduced with the same ultimate views of reform, and supported by one of the ablest speeches ever delivered in the house, was rejected by a majority of 216 against 101.

CHAP.
LXI.

1822.

During this session, the contest now raging between the Greeks and their inhuman oppressors came under the notice of parliament. The fierce Mussulmen, in their indignation at the revolt and successes of those whom they had been accustomed to regard with ineffable contempt, had committed the most atrocious cruelties: not content with hanging the Greek patriarch and several bishops in their pontifical robes, and ravaging with diabolical fury the beautiful isle of Scio, they had barbarously put to death the hostages placed in their hands by its wretched inhabitants. The sensations of horror produced by this latter event caused Mr. W. Smith to put a question on the subject to lord Londonderry, in the house of commons, regarding connivance, or at least neglect of remonstrance on the part of our diplomatic agents; when the answer of the noble secretary, who made very light of the proceeding, '*believing* that a *calamity* had occurred, in which ten or twelve hostages had been executed, and which he justified on the plea of barbarities committed by the other party,' produced a severe remonstrance from sir James Mackintosh, who inquired, 'if despatches had been received from our ambassador at the Ottoman Porte, from which it could be ascertained whether any of those persons who had been murdered by the barbarous tyrants at Constantinople, had been under the protection of the British minister, lord Strangford; or had surrendered themselves to the Turks, under any pledge, promise, or assurance of safety from that nobleman? He took this opportunity of asking the noble marquis, whether it was mentioned in any of his recent despatches, that the markets of Smyrna and Constantinople were filled with amiable Greek ladies and children, offered to the caprices of

Cause of
the Greeks.

CHAP.
LXI.
1822.

barbarous Mahometan voluptuaries? He also asked, whether ministers could afford the nation any account of the new slave trade, recently established in the East, for amiable and accomplished christian females, by a government which was encouraged and supported by the administration of this free and enlightened country?’

The answer of our secretary to these interrogatories was in the highest degree unsatisfactory: he now ‘*believed* that *eighty* or *ninety* individuals had recently been executed; but that they could not be considered at all under the protection of the British government, or in such a situation as to require our interference on that ground.’ The principles of the holy alliance itself seemed now about to be prostituted in the defence of atrocities, of which the annals of the world scarcely afford a parallel: the spirit of the British people, however, revolted against the mean and dastardly spirit manifested by their rulers: addresses were circulated by individuals; public meetings were held; and subscriptions raised to support the Greeks in their noble conflict: the flame spread among other European nations; so that reluctant kings and potentates were kept within the line of duty by their subjects, until the great cause of humanity, civilisation, and christianity triumphed over oppression, tyranny, and injustice.

Visit of
George IV.
to Scot-
land.

Many questions of minor importance were keenly debated in both houses this session, which the limits of this work oblige us to pass over:¹¹ so numerous indeed were the subjects that claimed attention from the legislature, and protracted its discussions, that the prorogation of parliament did not take place till the sixth of August: on the tenth, his majesty embarked

¹¹ An important one, however, was the repeal of what was called the retrospective clause in the Marriage Act Amendment Bill; which by setting up a great number of marriages, otherwise invalid, tended to annul certain rights of property, which the invalidity of those marriages had already let in: this repeal was supported by lords Ellenborough and Westmoreland, but opposed vehemently by lord Stowell, and the chancellor; the latter of whom in the warmth of his indignation, exclaimed—‘this repeal is a legal robbery; so help me God.’ The session did not pass without an attack by Mr. M. A. Taylor on the administration of the court of chancery.

at Greenwich, for the purpose of visiting Scotland; and landed on the eighteenth at Leith, where he was welcomed by immense multitudes, who accompanied him to the ancient city of Scottish kings: there was less of wild joy and noisy ebullition in their reception of the monarch, than he experienced last year in his Irish expedition; but the principles of veneration and attachment, among a people whose feudal ties had not very long been broken, were not less hearty and sincere: a love of country, self-respect, and religious feelings are generally observable in that submission which the Scotch nation pays to the higher powers. The royal *cortège* was escorted into the magnificent capital of the north by cavalry and infantry, highlanders, and gentlemen archers of the royal guard; and was interesting from the variety of costume adopted on this occasion: the king declared, that the beauty of the scenery, the splendor of the display, and the cordiality of his welcome, affected him more than any thing else in the course of his life: he passed the night at Dalkeith, the seat of the duke of Buccleugh; and next day held a *levée* at the palace of Holyrood-house, restored again to its ancient dignity; on which occasion he wore the highland costume; and at a court, held on the twentieth, his majesty received the homage of 3000 loyal subjects. He was entertained at a splendid feast in the parliament-house, given by the lord provost, at which sir Walter Scott officiated as *croupier*: after his majesty's health had been drunk with great enthusiasm, he returned thanks in a dignified manner, and concluded with proposing the health of *sir* William Arbuthnot, *baronet*, and the corporation of Edinburgh. When the king named the lord provost by a title which he thus conferred, the magistrate knelt and kissed the royal hand, held out at the moment; and the incident was loudly applauded by the company: his majesty afterwards gave as a toast—'Health to its chieftains and clans! and God bless the land of cakes!' Few monarchs have been so successful in uniting hilarity and dignity in meetings with their subjects as George IV.; nor are the personal

CHAP.
LXI.
1822.

qualifications of a sovereign, in this respect, of small importance to the welfare and happiness of a nation: it was unfortunate, both for himself and his subjects, that the king generally adopted so strict a system of seclusion. On the twenty-ninth, his majesty departed by a different route, and in his way paid a visit to the gallant earl of Hopetoun; at whose house he conferred the honor of knighthood on Raeburn, the celebrated portrait-painter: a fair wind brought the royal squadron to Greenwich on the first of September, where the monarch landed amidst immense crowds of Britons, whose hearts require but little sympathy shown toward their feelings, their wants, and pleasures, to keep them steady in attachment to the throne.

Death of
lord Londonderry.

Two days only elapsed after George IV. had embarked on this excursion, when an event took place, which caused an important change in the cabinet; leading ultimately to the adoption of a line of policy more generous, more favorable to the cause of general liberty, and therefore more agreeable to the spirit of the British constitution, than that which our government had for some time pursued: this was the death of the marquis of Londonderry, who, in a fit of mental aberration, supposed to have originated from the harassing labors of the late session, as well as from many mortifying reflections cast on his political character, put a period to his existence with his own hand, at North Cray, in Kent: the coroner's jury brought in a verdict of insanity; and his lordship's remains were interred in Westminster Abbey. As a statesman and minister, this country had but little cause to lament his loss, or respect his memory; yet the melancholy end of a nobleman, whose private character was adorned with many amiable and generous qualities, excited deep commiseration and regret among all whose feelings were not maddened by political exasperation: the shouts of exultation uttered by the populace, while his coffin was removed from the hearse into the sacred edifice, was a sad proof of the prevalence of those principles, which the apostles of infidelity and sedition were at this time busily engaged in propagating; and

which demanded all that vigilance of government, all that counteraction from the virtuous and well-instructed portion of society, which they soon received. Carlile, the notorious editor of blasphemous publications, had been tried in the court of king's bench, and was suffering the penalty of his offences in Dorchester jail: but in July this year, a woman, named Susannah Wright, was brought before the same tribunal, and found guilty of continuing the publication of this man's blasphemies, composed since his imprisonment: the defendant, who was smartly dressed, and surrounded by four or five more females, read a long address to the jury, in which she proclaimed her utter disbelief in christianity, or any other religion; professing her readiness to suffer in the cause of Mr. Carlile, whose principles she admired, and of whose doctrines she was a willing propagator. These, and other trials of a similar description about the same period, provoked a considerable discussion respecting the equity and expediency of subjecting such offenders to legal penalties; and the religion so protected by acts and statutes, which make it penal to revile its fundamental doctrines, was termed by its opponents 'the religion of the magistrate.' Much need not be said on this topic: it is the duty of the magistrate to protect the christian religion; because the founders of our constitution, knowing that no political institutions can stand without the basis of religious sanctions, have recognised christianity, as affording the best of all; and by an ecclesiastical establishment declared it part of the law of the land: with respect to the expediency of punishing those who vilify its doctrines—though religion may have nothing to fear from the infidel and blasphemer, yet it ought to be protected from contumely and insult, even for the sake of the people themselves, who are too prone to despise what they see vilified and degraded by others.

CHAP.
LXI.
1822.

Trial of
Carlile, &c.

The difficulty of finding a successor to lord Londonderry, especially as leader of the ministerial party in the house of commons, was so great, as to subdue at length the resentment of the king toward Mr. Can-

Appoint-
ment of
Mr. Can-
ning as
foreign
secretary.

CHAP.
LXI.

1822.

ning, as well as the aversion entertained by the lord chancellor, and his party in the cabinet, for that superiority of talent and liberality of principle, which recommended him to the people at large: moreover, lord Liverpool, who had been connected with him from early life, and knew the value of his extraordinary faculties, was resolute in demanding his re-admission into the cabinet: just therefore as the newly appointed governor of India was preparing to set sail, he was invited to take the high office of secretary for foreign affairs, where he could, with more satisfaction to himself, maintain the dignity and extend the glory of his country. By the decease of his predecessor, the greatest impediment to liberal principles at home, and to a just as well as generous policy abroad, was removed; and though the change was not immediately perceptible, yet the master-spirit was set at work; the power which had been accustomed to paralyse its efforts was no more; and with the accession of Canning to the British cabinet, a new epoch was about to commence in the general system of government.

Congress
of Verona,
&c.

When this new appointment was made, the duke of Wellington was deputed to take that place which the late lord Londonderry would have occupied at the great congress of Verona. The ostensible object of this assembly, was merely to put a period to the Austrian occupation of Naples and Piedmont; but the continental sovereigns had other and more important views, extending to the eastern as well as to the western extremity of Europe: for a considerable period, the Greek population, both of the continent and of the islands, had been in open revolt against their barbarian oppressors; and the contest, marked as it was by dreadful atrocities, continued without any apparent prospect of termination. The majority of the people in all christian states, with a numerous party even among the higher powers, urged by religious and political sympathies, or excited by the illusions of classical enthusiasm, earnestly desired the emancipation of an interesting people, boasting to be descendants of the noblest race of antiquity: among these,

Russia, from the identity of her church with that of the Greeks, from the hatred which her people have always borne to the crescent, and from the ambitious views which her sovereigns for the last century have entertained regarding the dismemberment of Turkey, might have been expected to espouse the cause of the insurgents: but it happened at this juncture, that every prepossession inherited or formed by the Russian autocrat was superseded by his fear of revolutionary movements; so that he not only refused to countenance the Greek cause, but visited its active partisans among his subjects with marks of severe displeasure: not only did he cast aside ancient animosity, and all views of profiting by the various causes of dispute with the Ottoman government, which had been studiously kept open; but himself originated an overture to the principal European states to interpose their mediation: under such circumstances, the representatives of the great powers at Verona, who were all interested in preventing the farther aggrandisement of Russia at the expense of Turkey, found little difficulty in averting the threatened war between those two empires, except what proceeded from the blind obstinacy of the Porte itself: with respect to the Greek insurgents, the congress refused even to admit an envoy from their nation.

The most active measures, however, of this assembly were directed toward Spain: the ultra-royalist faction which had lately obtained a supremacy in French councils, was secretly engaged in plans for the revival of absolute power in that country, which were studiously veiled from Great Britain by the most perfidious denials of any hostile intention. Taking advantage of a pestilent fever which broke out in Catalonia, the French government had drawn a sanatory cordon round the Spanish frontiers; under pretext of which, every possible encouragement was given to the absolute party in Spain, and a furious civil war excited in its northern provinces, where the peasantry were particularly hostile to their new constitution. Toward the close of the present year, the

CHAP.
LXI.
1822.

rebel 'army of the faith,' as it was termed, was defeated by the celebrated Mina; when its broken remains, together with the self-constituted regency, found open protection within the French frontiers: the Bourbon government now began to complain of petty infractions of territory, caused by its own acts; and the sanatory cordon, increased by numbers, became gradually converted into an army of observation.

In these circumstances, the cabinet of the Tuilleries directed its representative at Verona to demand categorically of the other powers, whether they would support its armed interposition in the affairs of Spain; when the British government, totally unprepared for such a proposal, instructed their ambassador not only to decline a participation in any measure of that kind, but to renew in the strongest terms their former protestation against the principle of such interference: the proposition however was readily accepted by the despots; and Spain was ordered, by notes from the four powers of Austria, Russia, Prussia, and France, to alter her constitutional system, unless she chose to abide by the consequences of a refusal: our ministers could only endeavor to avert this aggression by negotiations; while the French government, amusing them until its preparations were complete, finally directed the march of a large army under the hero D'Angoulême, to act in concert with the 'army of the faith,' and restore Ferdinand VII. to the plenitude of arbitrary power.

The report of such an interference, and the insolent language held by the holy alliance, excited much indignation in this country; but no share of it now fell on our ministers; who, far from participating in the despotic league, were generally acknowledged to have used every practicable effort to counteract its designs: numerous reasons existed to check that disposition for war, which sympathy for the Spanish constitutionalists, or abhorrence of the conduct of their enemies, tended to excite; and the nation contentedly relied on the liberal principles which appeared to predominate in the British cabinet.

While the well-known sentiments of Mr. Canning on national law, and his patriotic zeal for the fame of Great Britain, thus inspired his countrymen with confidence in his honorable direction of foreign affairs, it was his aim, at the same time, to heal the intestine wounds of this nation: liberating himself from the thralldom of antiquated precedents, and availing himself of advantages from late experience, and the progress of political knowlege, he resolved no longer to stem the tide of public opinion, arrest improvement, and chain down the intellect of the age; which indeed would soon have risen against him like a hundred-handed giant. In the prosecution of his liberal views, he was encouraged and assisted by the official promotion of Mr. Robinson and Mr. Huskisson; the latter of whom was made president of the board of trade, while the former was advanced to the dignity of chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. Nicholas Vansittart taking refuge from the jeers of modern financiers in the house of peers, under the title of lord Bexley. Before we close the annals of this year, it may be remarked, that they were distinguished by the opening, in November, of the Caledonian canal, after a labor of twenty years, and an expenditure of £900,000 on that stupendous work, which opens a communication between the eastern and western seas, and enables vessels to avoid the dangerous navigation of the Pentland-frith, or the channel: a parliamentary grant also was made for the important design of publishing the early histories of Great Britain.

APPENDIX.

INTERVIEW OF THE POPE AND THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS, &c.

From the 'Examiner' Weekly Newspaper, referred to in Page 196.

'It would be difficult to say what is the exact principle which guides the emperor Nicholas in his political predilections. It is not the principle of legitimacy, or the indefeasible right of the eldest son and the eldest branch, to which the czar himself forms a memorable exception. He has shown no kindness, not even the kindness that misfortune might claim, to the family of Charles X. When the duke of Bordeaux made an effort to meet the czar at Berlin, the latter altered all the arrangements of his journey, in order not to be in the same town with the French pretender. And if Nicholas has favored any thing French, it has been the Bonapartes. Again, the other day, visiting Genoa and the court of Piedmont, the emperor turned his back upon Don Carlos and his sons. It might be because the former had offered to abdicate in order to favor a marriage, as a condition of which his son was to accept the constitution; and, in truth, it seems to be constitutional government, not usurpation, which grates upon Russian nerves. A despot is always welcome to St. Petersburg, provided he be well seated on his throne, and potent in the wielding of his sceptre; but the Russian is sufficiently Oriental to have neither respect nor sympathy for the fallen. This may not be a chivalrous sentiment, but it is a very useful one. Whatever royal family chooses to act Stuart in our days will find nowhere a Louis XIV. to act Quixote, and go to war on their behalf. The sovereign who at this moment has reached the utmost point of mal-administration, and the discontent of whose subjects has reached a permanent boiling heat, is his holiness the pope. The entire Romagna is in a frenzy of disaffection, and the citizens have been goaded to this by the want of even the commonest virtues of despotic government. There is neither justice nor security, no possibility of trade, or of

following that development of industry taking place in other parts, even of Italy; and with all this, taxation augments. There never yet existed in the world a government of such monstrous stupidity as this same government of the pope. Even the cardinal legate of Ferrara declares that it cannot go on. The chief of the spiritual concerns of four great countries of Christendom cannot manage his own temporal affairs with even the wisdom of a child. This infallible and fatuous prince, to whom the Irish repealers would give a voice in their national system of education, but who proscribes education, and trade, and railroads, and scientific congresses, and common sense, in his own dominions, has just received a visit from the emperor Nicholas, whom his holiness is said to have lectured with much feeling and force upon the persecution of catholics in Poland and in Russia. The infallible czar replied, that he ruled over millions of a population not more advanced than Western Europe in the fifteenth century, and that he was obliged to apply to the government of such a population the principle used and sanctioned in Western Europe at that time. His imperial object, he declared, was to enforce peace and resignation in his subjects; and, if the pope would undertake to convert the catholic Poles to such a state of quiescence and submission, he (the czar) would not interfere with their creed. In other words,—if the pope and his clergy would act as good and true police for Russia, the czar would not persecute, but cherish them. We have not heard what answer the pontiff made to the insidious request, but we did hear that he asked permission to send a nuncio to Warsaw and St. Petersburg. The emperor is said to have replied that, since he had personally seen his holiness, and explained his views and intentions of amity, he could not suffer any intermediary between two such sovereigns; the health of the imperial family would frequently bring him to Italy, and this would not be the last time that he hoped to pay his respects to his holiness. Some beheld in this interview the repetition of those memorable meetings which are recorded in history as taking place between popes and emperors. We admit the resemblance between Nicholas and Charles V. The same craft,—the same ruthlessness,—the same thirst for extending empire,—the same trust in autocracy, and contempt of all forms of freedom,—the same intolerance and persecution of a faith which menaces to become a political opposition,—the same wise choice of prudent councillors,—the same constancy of political hatred to France, with the patience, dictated by prudence, for awaiting the fit time to strike,—the same skill and good fortune in negotiation, much more signal than those qualities displayed in war,—the same love of his family,—the same disgust of the world and of his high station in it, mark Nicholas as they did Charles; and, we are much mistaken, if the similarity be not carried further by the subsequent events of history. The pope of the day is more Adrian than Leo,—of honest intentions but of monkish wisdom, and as little able to cope with the growing spirit of the age, and even of catholicism, as the old tutor of Charles. The very small spiritual superiority and influence left to the pope by catholic

states can no longer, indeed, be difficult for his holiness to wield. His embarrassments arise from the heavy burden of being a temporal sovereign, without lights, means, aids, or capacity for governing as the world now requires to be governed. Trembling before his oppressed, indignant, and disaffected subjects, the pope can but hold forth suppliant hands to the European powers to keep him on his throne. This lays the pope, in spiritual affairs, at their feet, and utterly destroys and nullifies that independence for the sake of which he was gifted with temporal sovereignty, and the only excuse for his maintaining it. The source of his former strength is now the source of his bondage. His temporal rule has become an impracticability and an anachronism.'

END OF VOL. VI.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY RAYNER AND HODGES,
109, Fetter Lane, Fleet Street.



SA
565
48
855

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

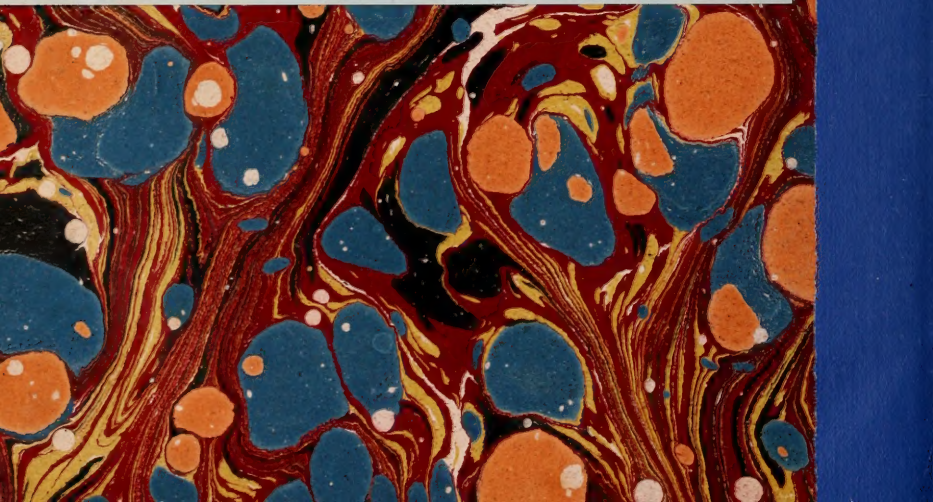
Santa Barbara College Library
Goleta, California

Return to desk from which borrowed.

This book is DUE on the last date stamped below.

0.6
MAR 19 1962

20m-10,'56 (C2250s4)476



UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



AA 000 234 692 2

